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THE POEMS OF JOHN MILTON

IN THREE VOLUMES

THE

POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

VOLUME II

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
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PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT.

MORNING approached, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: they come forth to their day-labours: their morning hymn at the door of their bower. GOD, to render man inexcusable, sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to paradise; his appearance described, his coming discerned by Adam afar off, sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state, and of his enemy; relates, at Adam's request, who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him; persuading all but only Abdiel a seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.

Now morn, her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,

[1] *rosy steps*] Quintus Smyrnæus applies the epithet, ῥοδόσφυρος to Aurora. v. Lib. i. 137. *A. Dyce.*

[2] *sow'd*] 'Ambo de comis calorem, et ambo radios *conserunt.*' See *Anthol. Lat.* vol. i. p. 8, ed. Burm. Avieni, Orb. Desc. ver. 580. and Fragm. in Aristot. Poet.

Σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα. *Upton.*

When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
Was aery light, from pure digestion bred, [sound
And temperate vapours bland, which th' only
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
Of birds on every bough: so much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
With tresses discompos'd and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet rest: he, on his side
Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces: then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus: Awake,

[5] *only*] For 'alone.' Spens. F. Q. v. xi. 30.

'As if the *only* sound thereof she fear'd.'

[6] *fuming*] v. Lucretii. lib. vi. Virg. Geo. ii. 217.

[6] *fan*] Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 116.

'Calls forth the winds. Oh Heaven's *fresh fans*, quoth he:' and p. 161;

'now began
Aurora's usher with his *windy fan*
Gently to shake the woods on every side.'

[7] *matin*] Virg. Æn. viii. 456.

'Et *matutini* volucrum sub culmine *cantus*.' *Newton*.

[17] *awake*] See Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ver. 10012. (Marchant's Tale.)

'Rise up, my wif, my love, my lady free,
The turtle's vois is heard, myn owen swete!
The winter is gon, with all his raines wete!
Come forth now,' &c.

My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
Awake, the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How nature paints her colours, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet.

Such whisp'ring wak'd her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night,
Such night till this I never pass'd, have dream'd,
If dream'd, not, as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day pass'd, or morrow's next design,
But of offence and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irksome night: methought
Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
With gentle voice; I thought it thine: it said,
Why sleep'st thou Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song; now reigns
Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light

[23] *balmy reed*] εὐοδμοῦ καλαμοῖο. v. Dionysii Geog. ver. 937.

[41] *his*] In the other passages, where the song of the nightingale is described, the bird is of the feminine gender; v. iii. 40. iv. 602. vii. 436. *Newton.*

Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
If none regard: heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, nature's desire,
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;
And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways
That brought me on a sudden to the tree
Of interdicted knowledge: fair it seem'd,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
And as I wond'ring look'd, beside it stood
One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from heav'n
By us oft seen; his dewy locks distill'd
Ambrosia; on that tree he also gaz'd;
And O fair plant, said he, with fruit surcharg'd,
Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,
Nor God, nor man; is knowledge so despis'd?
Or envy, or what reserve forbids to taste?
Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
Longer thy offer'd good; why else set here?
This said, he paus'd not, but with vent'rous arm
He pluck'd, he tasted; me damp horror chill'd
At such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold.
But he thus overjoy'd: O fruit divine,

44 *wakes*] G. Fletcher's Christ's Victorie, p. 1. st. 78.
'Heaven awakened all his eyes.' *Todd.*

57 *Ambrosia*] Virg. Æn. i. 403.
'Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere.' *Hume.*

Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus
cropp'd,
Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit
For Gods, yet able to make Gods of men:
And why not Gods of men, since good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
The author not impair'd, but honour'd more?
Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
Partake thou also; happy though thou art,
Happier thou may'st be, worthier canst not be:
Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thyself a Goddess, not to earth confin'd,
But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes
Ascend to heav'n, by merit thine, and see
What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.
So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
Even to my mouth of that same fruit held part
Which he had pluck'd; the pleasant savoury smell
So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought,
Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The earth outstretch'd immense, a prospect wide
And various: wond'ring at my flight and change
To this high exaltation, suddenly
My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
And fell asleep: but O how glad I wak'd

71 *good*] 'Ista natura est boni,
Communicari gaudet, et multis suo
Prodesse fructu. Nemo participi carens
Vivit beatus.' *Grotii Adamus Exsul.* p. 23.

To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.
Best image of myself and dearer half,
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
Affects me equally; nor can I like
This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear:
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure. But know that in the soul
Are many lesser faculties that serve
Reason as chief: among these fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,
Which the five watchful senses represent,
She forms imaginations, aery shapes,
Which reason joining, or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm, or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
Into her private cell when nature rests.
Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes
To imitate her; but, misjoining shapes,
Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams,
Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
Some such resemblances methinks I find
Of our last evening's talk in this thy dream,
But with addition strange; yet be not sad:
Evil into the mind of God or man
May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave

93 *night*] for the "dreams of night." v. S. Ital. iii. 216.
'Promissa evolvit somni, *noctemque* retractat.' *Hume.*
117 *God*] God here signifies 'angel.' See ver. 59 and 70. *Newton.*

No spot or blame behind; which gives me hope
That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,
Waking thou never wilt consent to do.
Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks
That wont to be more cheerful and serene
Than when fair morning first smiles on the world;
And let us to our fresh employments rise,
Among the groves, the fountains, and the flow'rs,
That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,
Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.
So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd;
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair:
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
Kiss'd as the gracious signs of sweet remorse,
And pious awe that fear'd to have offended.
So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste.
But first, from under shady arborous roof
Soon as they forth were come to open sight
Of dayspring and the sun, who, scarce uprisen
With wheels yet hov'ring o'er the ocean brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
Discovering in wide landscape all the east
Of paradise and Eden's happy plains,
Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began

127 *bosom'd*] 'Bosom.' *Bentl. MS.*

137 *roof*] In Milton's own edition, a comma stands after 'roof,' which Tickell, Fenton, Bentley followed. Pearce properly corrected it.

Their orisons, each morning duly paid
In various style; for neither various style
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty, thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!
Unspeakable, who sitt'st above these heavens,
To us invisible, or dimly seen
In these thy lowest works; yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine.
Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
Angels, for ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing, ye in heaven,
On earth join all ye creatures to extol
Him first, him last, him midst, and without end.
Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere
While day arises, that sweet hour of prime.

[150] *numerous*] 'To enter David's *numerous* fane.' *Sandy's Psalms*: Ded.

[156] *Fairest*] Hom. Il. xxii. 318. and Ov. Met. ii. 114. *Newton.*

Thou sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
Acknowledge him thy greater, sound his praise
In thy eternal course, both when thou clim'st,
And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.
Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st,
With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies,
And ye five other wand'ring fires that move
In mystic dance not without song, resound
His praise, who out of darkness call'd up light.
Air, and ye elements the eldest birth
Of nature's womb, that in quaternion run
Perpetual circle, multiform, and mix
And nourish all things, let your ceaseless change
Vary to our great Maker still new praise.
Ye mists and exhalations that now rise
From hill or steaming lake, dusky or grey,
Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
In honour to the world's great author rise,
Whether to deck with clouds the uncolour'd sky,
Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers,
Rising or falling still advance his praise.
His praise, ye winds that from four quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye pines,
With every plant, in sign of worship wave.

177 *five*] 'Verum etiam *quinque* stellas, quæ vulgo *vagæ* nuncupantur.'
v. Apul. de Deo Socratis, ed. Delph. vol. ii. p. 666.

181 *quaternion*] Heywood's Hier. p. 193.
'What *ternions* and classes be
In the cælestial hierarchie.'

Fountains and ye that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise:
Join voices, all ye living souls, ye birds,
That singing up to heaven gate ascend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise;
Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
Witness if I be silent, morn or even,
To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade,
Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.
Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gather'd aught of evil, or conceal'd,
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.
So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts
Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm,
On to their morning's rural work they haste,
Among sweet dews and flowers, where any row
Of fruit-trees overwoody reach'd too far
Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
Fruitless embraces; or they led the vine
To wed her elm; she spous'd about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dow'r, th' adopted clusters, to adorn

198 *heaven gate*] So in Cymbeline, act ii. sc. 3.
'Hark! hark, the lark at *heaven's gate* sings.' *Newton.*

200 *Ye that*] How could the fish witness? *Bentl. MS.*

205 *give*] Not unlike the Prayer of Clytæmnestra in Soph. Elect. 646. *A. Dyce.*

217 *marriageable*] See Apulei Apolog. p. 540. ed. Delph.

His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld
With pity heav'n's high King, and to him call'd
Raphael, the sociable spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and secur'd
His marriage with the seventimes-wedded maid.
Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on earth
Satan, from hell scap'd through the darksome gulf,
Hath rais'd in paradise, and how disturb'd
This night the human pair, how he designs
In them at once to ruin all mankind:
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade
Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,
To respit his day-labour with repast,
Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
As may advise him of his happy state,
Happiness in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He swerve not too secure: tell him withal
His danger, and from whom; what enemy
Late fall'n himself from heaven, is plotting now
The fall of others from like state of bliss;
By violence? no; for that shall be withstood,
But by deceit and lies; this let him know,
Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend
Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd.
So spake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All justice: nor delay'd the winged saint
After his charge receiv'd; but from among

Thousand celestial ardours, where he stood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing light
Flew through the midst of heav'n; th' angelic choirs,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
Of heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work
Divine the sov'reign Architect had fram'd.
From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth and the garden of God, with cedars crown'd
Above all hills: as when by night the glass
Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:
Or pilot from amidst the Cyclades
Delos, or Samos, first appearing kens
A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing
Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air; till within soar
Of tow'ring eagles, to all the fowls he seems
A phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,
When, to inshrine his reliques in the sun's

249 *ardours*] 'ardours,' mean the 'seraphim.' It is one of the words used by Dante for angels. *Todd.*

266 *prone*] Virg. Æn. iv. 253.

'Toto præceps se corpore ad undas
Misit.' *Newton.*

Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
At once on th' eastern cliff of paradise
He lights, and to his proper shape returns
A seraph wing'd: six wings he wore, to shade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipp'd in heav'n; the third his feet
Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail
Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood,

277 *shade*] Statii Silv. iii. 4. 30.
'Ex humeris nullæ fulgentibus *umbræ*.'

281 *starry zone*] Compare Marino's Sl. of the Innocents, p. 50, st. xcvi. describing an angel.
'When in celestial colours art contends
With azure gold, and white with purest red.
For skirts girt at the waste, then each depends
Loosely, nor further than the knees are spread.
Which, lest thy waving be too much display'd,
A golden clasp restrains, with gems inlay'd.
Extended on his shining back a pair
Of ample wings their glorious colours show;
Most choice perfumes enrich his curling hair,
And to the air the graceful tresses flow,' &c.

285 *son*] See Dante, Il Purg. c. 8.
'E vidi uscir dell' alto, e scender giue
Du' Angeli con due spade affocate,
. . . . . .
Verdi, come fogliette pur mo nate,
Erano 'n veste, che da verdi penne
Percosse traén dietro e ventilate.

And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. Straight knew him all the bands
Of angels under watch; and to his state,
And to his message high, in honour rise;
For on some message high they guess'd him bound.
Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come
Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flow'ring odors, cassia, nard, and balm;
A wilderness of sweets; for nature here
Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art; enormous bliss.
Him through the spicy forest onward come
Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bower, while now the mounted sun
Shot down direct his fervid rays, to warm [needs;
Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam
And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner savoury fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milky stream,
Berry, or grape, to whom thus Adam call'd.
Haste hither, Eve, and worth thy sight behold

286 *shook*] Sannaz de Partu Virg. i. 107.

—— 'ingentes *explicat* alas
Ac tectis late *insuetum diffundit odorem*.'

and Fairfax's Tasso, Lib. i. st. 14. *Newton. Todd.*

306 *milky stream*] v. Apulei Metam. i. p. 27. ed. Delph.

'En, inquam, explere *latice* fontes *lacteo*.'

Beaumont's Psyche, c. iii. st. 56.

'And from the *milkie shore* of the next spring!'

Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape
Comes this way moving, seems another morn
Ris'n on mid-noon; some great behest from heav'n
To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
This day to be our guest. But go with speed,
And what thy stores contain bring forth, and pour
Abundance, fit to honour and receive
Our heav'nly stranger; well we may afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
From large bestow'd, where nature multiplies
Her fertil growth, and by disburd'ning grows
More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare.
To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mould,
Of GOD inspir'd, small store will serve, where store
All seasons ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes.
But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and juiciest gourd, will pluck such
To entertain our angel guest, as he [choice
Beholding shall confess, that here on earth
GOD hath dispens'd his bounties as in heav'n.

309 *what*] See Dante, Il Purgatorio, c. xii.

'Vedi colà un' Angel, che s' appresta
Per venir verso noi.'

310 *morn*] See Crashaw's Delights, p. 52.

'Who's this that comes arched in rayes that scorn
Acquaintance with the Sun? What *second morn*
At *midday* opes a presence?'

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change:
Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
Whatever earth, all-bearing mother, yields
In India east or west, or middle shore,
In Pontus, or the Punic coast, or where
Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat,
Rough, or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps with unsparing hand: for drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive must, and meathes
From many a berry, and from sweet kernels press'd
She tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold
Wants her fit vessels pure; then strews the ground
With rose and odours from the shrub unfum'd.
Mean while our primitive great sire, to meet
His god-like guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompany'd than with his own complete
Perfections; in himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long

[333] *choice to choose*] So P. L. viii. 130. 'move motion.' ix. 289. 'thoughts misthought.' xi. 427. 'sinned sin.' *Newton.*

[345] *vessels*] The shell of the fruits. See Book iv. ver. 335

——— 'and in the *rind*,
Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream.'

Of horses led and grooms besmear'd with gold
Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape.
Nearer his presence Adam, though not aw'd,
Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
As to a superior nature, bowing low,
Thus said. Native of heav'n, for other place
None can than heav'n such glorious shape contain,
Since by descending from the thrones above,
Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while
To want, and honour these, vouchsafe with us
Two only, who yet by sov'reign gift possess
This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
Be over, and the sun more cool decline.

Whom thus the angelic Virtue answer'd mild.
Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
As may not oft invite, though spirits of heav'n,
To visit thee: lead on then where thy bower
O'ershades; for these mid-hours, till ev'ning rise,
I have at will. So to the sylvan lodge
They came, that like Pomona's arbour smil'd
With flow'rets deck'd and fragrant smells: but Eve
Undeck'd, save with her self, more lovely fair
Than wood-nymph, or the fairest goddess feign'd
Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove,

356 *besmear'd*] Hor. Od. iv. 9. 14.
'Aurum vestibus *illitum*.' *Hume.*

357 *agape*] agaze. *Bentl. MS.*

Stood to entertain her guest from heav'n; no veil
She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the angel Hail
Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.

Hail, mother of mankind, whose fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
Than with these various fruits the trees of GOD
Have heap'd this table. Rais'd of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold,
No fear lest dinner cool, when thus began
Our author. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
These bounties which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good unmeasur'd out descends,
To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
The earth to yield; unsavoury food, perhaps,
To spiritual natures: only this I know,
That one celestial Father gives to all.

To whom the angel. Therefore what he gives,
Whose praise be ever sung, to man in part
Spiritual, may of purest spirits be found
No ingrateful food: and food alike those pure
Intelligential substances require,
As doth your rational; and both contain
Within them every lower faculty
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,

And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
For know, whatever was created needs
To be sustain'd and fed; of elements
The grosser feeds the purer; earth the sea;
Earth and the sea feed air; the air those fires
Ethereal; and as lowest first the moon;
Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd
Vapours not yet into her substance turn'd.
Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist continent to higher orbs.
The sun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompence
In humid exhalations, and at even
Sups with the ocean. Though in heav'n the trees
Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
Yield nectar; tho' from off the boughs each morn
We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground
Cover'd with pearly grain; yet God hath here
Varied his bounty so with new delights,
As may compare with heaven; and to taste
Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,
And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
The angel, nor in mist, the common gloss

422 *moist*] Marino's Sl. of the Innocents, lib. ii. st. xcv.
'From the cold frost of that *moist orbe* secure.'
In Hamlet, act i. s. 1. the moon is called '*moist* star.' *Todd.*

425 *Sups*] Lovelace's Post. Poems, p. 15.
'The sun *sups* with the deep.' *Todd.*

435 *trees*] See Merrick's Triphiodorus, ver. 252.

Of theologians, but with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate: what redounds, transpires
Through spirits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
Of sooty coal the empyric alchymist
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold
As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown'd. O innocence
Deserving paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the sons of GOD excuse to have been
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injur'd lover's hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass,
Given him by this great conference, to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in heav'n, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so far; whose radiant forms,
Divine effulgence, whose high power so far
Exceeded human; and his wary speech
Thus to th' empyreal minister he fram'd.
Inhabitant with GOD, now know I well
Thy favour, in this honour done to man,

443 *mine*] 'Mint.' *Bentl. MS.*

455 *his*] Tickell, Fenton, Bently, read 'this' corruptly.

Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd
To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
Food not of angels, yet accepted so,
As that more willingly thou could'st not seem
At heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?

To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life:
But more refin'd, more spirituous, and pure,
As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assign'd,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, last the bright consummate flow'r
Spirits odorous breathes; flow'rs and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
To intellectual, give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
Reason receives, and reason is her being,
Discursive or intuitive; discourse

462 *odorous*] So Marino's Sl. of the Inn. by T. R. p. 60. 'The hills, and dales that plants *odórous* bore.' *Todd.*

Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
To proper substance: time may come, when men
With angels may participate, and find
No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare:
And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
Here or in heav'nly paradises dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain
Unalterably firm his love entire,
Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
Your fill what happiness this happy state
Can comprehend, incapable of more.
To whom the patriarch of mankind reply'd.
O favourable spirit, propitious guest,
Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
From center to circumference, whereon
In contemplation of created things
By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
What meant that caution join'd, if ye be found
Obedient? Can we want obedience then
To him, or possibly his love desert,
Who form'd us from the dust and plac'd us here
Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the angel. Son of heav'n and earth
Attend: that thou art happy, owe to GOD;
That thou continu'st such, owe to thy self,
That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.
GOD made thee perfect, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity:
Our voluntary service he requires,
Not our necessitated, such with him
Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
Can hearts, not free, be try'd whether they serve
Willing or no, who will but what they must
By destiny, and can no other choose?
My self and all th' angelic host, that stand
In sight of GOD enthron'd, our happy state
Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
On other surety none; freely we serve,
Because we freely love, as in our will
To love or not; in this we stand or fall.
And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,
And so from heaven to deepest hell: O fall
From what high state of bliss into what woe!
To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
Divine instructor, I have heard, than when
Cherubic songs by night from neighbouring hills
Aereal music send: nor knew I not

To be both will and deed created free;
Yet that we never shall forget to love
Our maker, and obey him whose command
Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts
Assur'd me, and still assure: though what thou tell'st
Hath past in heav'n, some doubt within me move,
But more desire to hear, if thou consent,
The full relation, which must needs be strange,
Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;
And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun
Hath finish'd half his journey, and scarce begins
His other half in the great zone of heav'n.
Thus Adam made request, and Raphael,
After short pause, assenting thus began.
High matter thou enjoin'st me, O prime of men,
Sad task and hard; for how shall I relate
To human sense th' invisible exploits
Of warring spirits? how without remorse
The ruin of so many, glorious once
And perfect while they stood? how last unfold
The secrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good,
This is dispens'd, and what surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best; though what if earth
Be but the shadow of heav'n; and things therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?

557 *sacred*] Hor. Od. ii. 13. 29.
'Utrumque sacro digna silentio.' *Richardson.*

'As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
Reign'd where these heav'ns now roll, where earth now rests
Upon her center pois'd, when on a day,
For time, though in eternity, apply'd
To motion, measures all things durable
By present, past, and future; on such day [host
As heav'n's great year brings forth, th' empyreal
Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne
Forthwith from all the ends of heav'n appear'd;
Under their hierarchs in orders bright
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
Standards and gonfalons twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve
Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees:
Or in their glittering tissues bear imblaz'd
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
Orb within orb, the Father infinite,
By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,
Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top
Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.
Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,

579 *pois'd*] Ov. Met. i. 13. 'Ponderibus librata suis.' *Newton.*

601 *Thrones*] 'By all the Thrones, and Dominations, Vir-

Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
And by my Self have sworn to him shall bow
All knees in heav'n, and shall confess him Lord.
Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
United, as one individual soul,
For ever happy: him who disobeys
Me disobeys, breaks union, and, that day
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place
Ordain'd without redemption, without end.

So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words
All seem'd well pleas'd; all seem'd, but were not all.
That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred hill,
Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem;
And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted. Ev'ning now approach'd,

tues, and Powers, and mighty hierarchies.' See Stafford's *Niobe dissolv'd into a Nilus*, 1611, p. 17. See also Greene's Hist. of Friar Bacon, p. 36; and Sir. Lindsay's Works, ed. Chalmers, vol. i. p. 215—6.

For we have also our ev'ning and our morn,
We ours for change delectable, not need,
Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
Desirous, all in circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
With angels food, and rubied nectar flows,
In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold;
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of heav'n.
On flow'rs repos'd and with fresh flowrets crown'd,
They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
Excess, before th' all-bounteous King, who showr'd
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.
Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light and shade [changed
Spring both, the face of brightest heav'n had
To grateful twilight, for night comes not there
In darker veil, and roseate dews dispos'd
All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,
Wide over all the plain, and wider far

633 *rubied*] Nectar of the colour of rubies. Hom. Il. xix. 38, *νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν*. *Newton.*

637 In the first ed. the passage stood thus:

'They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
Are filled, before the all bounteous King,' &c.
Newton.

642 *ambrosial*] Hom. Il. ii. 57. *Ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα.* *Newton.*

646 *roseate*] roscid. *Bentl. MS.*

Than all this globous earth in plain out spread,
Such are the courts of GOD, th' angelic throng
Dispers'd in bands and files their camp extend
By living streams among the trees of life,
Pavilions numberless and sudden rear'd,
Celestial tabernacles, where they slept [course
Fann'd with cool winds, save those who in their
Melodious hymns about the sov'reign throne
Alternate all night long. But not so wak'd
Satan, so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in heav'n; he of the first,
If not the first arch-angel, great in power,
In favour and preeminence, yet fraught
With envy against the Son of GOD, that day
Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd
Messiah King anointed, could not bear [pair'd.
Thro' pride that sight, and thought himself im-
Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour,
Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd
With all his legions to dislodge, and leave
Unworship'd, unobey'd, the throne supreme,
Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake. [close
Sleep'st thou, companion dear, what sleep can
Thy eyelids? and remember'st what decree

649 *globous earth*] So in the Doctrine of Divorce, p. 208, ed. Burnet. 'Circling upwards can make from the *globy sea* whereon she stands.'

673 *Sleep'st thou*] See Nonni Dionysiaca, lib. xxix. v. 328.

Of yesterday so late hath past the lips
Of heav'n's Almighty? Thou to me thy thoughts
Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart:
Both waking we were one; how then can now
Thy sleep dissent? new laws thou see'st impos'd;
New laws from him who reigns new minds may raise
In us who serve, new counsels, to debate
What doubtful may ensue; more in this place
To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;
Tell them, that by command, ere yet dim night
Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
And all who under me their banners wave,
Homeward with flying march, where we possess
The quarters of the north, there to prepare
Fit entertainment to receive our King
The great Messiah, and his new commands;
Who speedily through all the hierarchies
Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.
So spake the false arch-angel, and infus'd
Bad influence into th' unwary breast
Of his associate; he together calls,
Or several one by one, the regent Powers,
Under him regent, tells, as he was taught,
That, the Most High commanding, now ere night,
Now ere dim night had disincumber'd heav'n,
The great hierarchal standard was to move;
Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
Or taint integrity: but all obey'd

The wonted signal, and superior voice
Of their great potentate; for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in heav'n;
His count'nance, as the morning star that guides
The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of heav'n's host.

Mean while th' eternal Eye, whose sight discerns
Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount,
And from within the golden lamps that burn
Nightly before him, saw without their light
Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread
Among the sons of morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppose his high decree;
And smiling to his only Son thus said.

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
In full resplendence, heir of all my might,
Nearly it now concerns us to be sure
Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
We mean to hold what antiently we claim
Of deity or empire; such a foe
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try

[708] *morning star*] So in an Epigram of the elder Scaliger, *Poemata*, p. 120, ed. 1591;

'Lucifer, auratı pecoris cordate magister,
Coge gregem.' *A. Dyce.*

[716] *sons of morn*] So he calls the angels in H. on the Nativity, st. xii.

'But when of old the *sons of morning* sung.'

See Isaiah, xiv. 12. *Todd.*

In battel, what our power is, or our right.
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
With speed what force is left, and all employ
In our defence, lest unawares we lose
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.
To whom the Son with calm aspect and clear
Light'ning divine, ineffable, serene,
Made answer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes
Justly hast in derision, and secure
Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain,
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
Illustrates, when they see all regal power
Giv'n me to quell their pride, and in event
Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
Thy rebels, or be found the worst in heav'n.
So spake the Son: but Satan with his powers
Far was advanc'd on winged speed, an host
Innumerable as the stars of night,
Or stars of morning, dewdrops, which the sun
Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones
In their triple degrees, regions to which
All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this garden is to all the earth,
And all the sea, from one entire globose

746 *stars of morning*] Casimir Sarb. Carm. ii. 4. 1. calls the dews, 'Stellulæ noctis decedentis.'

747 *Impearls*] Sylv. Du Bartas, p. 70.

——— 'the flowery meads
Impearled with tears, which sweet Aurora sheds.' *Todd.*

Stretch'd into longitude; which having pass'd,
At length into the limits of the north
They came, and Satan to his royal seat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and tow'rs
From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold,
The palace of great Lucifer; so call
That structure in the dialect of men
Interpreted, which not long after he,
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that mount whereon
Messiah was declar'd in sight of heav'n,
The mountain of the congregation call'd;
For thither he assembled all his train,
Pretending so commanded to consult
About the great reception of their king,
Thither to come, and with calumnious art
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.
  Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues,
If these magnific titles yet remain [powers,
Not merely titular, since by decree
Another now hath to himself ingross'd
All power, and us eclips'd under the name
Of king anointed, for whom all this haste
Of midnight march and hurry'd meeting here,
This only to consult how we may best
With what may be devis'd of honours new
Receive him, coming to receive from us
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
Too much to one, but double how endur'd,
To one and to his image now proclaim'd?

But what if better counsels might erect
Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?
Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
Natives and sons of heav'n, possest before
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well consist.
Who can in reason then or right assume
Monarchy over such as live by right
His equals, if in power and splendour less,
In freedom equal? or can introduce
Law and edict on us, who without law
Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,

788 *knee*] Shakesp. Richard II. act i. scene iv.

' And had the tribute of his *supple knee*.' *Todd.*

799 *much less*] This passage is considered as one of the most difficult in Milton. Bentley, Pearce, Richardons, Greenwood, Warburton, and Newton, have given their different interpretations. I differ from them, as they carry back the force of ' much less' to what has past. I consider one argument concluded at ' err not,' and that ' much less,' beginning a new one, looks forward; and I thus explain it: ' Much less reason has he to be called our Lord, and consequently to look for adoration from us, when it must be at the expense, or abuse of those imperial titles which in themselves assert our own sovereignty, and our consequent immunity from servitude.' He alludes to the titles given the angels. ' Thrones, dominations, princedoms,' &c. this argument Abdiel answers, v. 831. I trust that this explanation will be considered as satisfactory.

799 *for this*] for. This. Iste. *Bentl. MS.*

And look for adoration to th' abuse
Of those imperial titles, which assert
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve?
  Thus far his bold discourse without control
Had audience, when among the seraphim
Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd
The Deity, and divine commands obey'd,
Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.
  O argument blasphemous, false, and proud!
Words which no ear ever to hear in heav'n
Expected, least of all from thee, ingrate,
In place thyself so high above thy peers.
Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn
The just decree of God, pronounc'd and sworn,
That to his only Son, by right endu'd
With regal scepter, every soul in heav'n
Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
Confess him rightful king? unjust thou say'st,
Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,
And equal over equals to let reign,
One over all with unsucceeded power.
Shalt thou give law to God? shalt thou dispute
With him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and form'd the pow'rs of heav'n
Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd their being?
Yet by experience taught we know how good,
And of our good, and of our dignity
How provident he is, how far from thought
To make us less, bent rather to exalt

Our happy state under one head more near
United. But to grant it thee unjust,
That equal over equals monarch reign:
Thyself though great and glorious dost thou count,
Or all angelic nature join'd in one,
Equal to him begotten Son, by whom
As by his word the mighty Father made
All things, ev'n thee, and all the spirits of heav'n
By him created in their bright degrees,
Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd
Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers,
Essential powers, nor by his reign obscur'd,
But more illustrious made, since he the head
One of our number thus reduc'd becomes,
His laws our laws, all honour to him done
Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage,
And tempt not these; but hasten to appease
Th' incensed Father, and th' incensed Son,
While pardon may be found in time besought.
So spake the fervent angel; but his zeal
None seconded, as out of season judg'd,
Or singular and rash; whereat rejoic'd
Th' Apostate, and more haughty thus reply'd.
That we were form'd then say'st thou? and the work
Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd
From Father to his Son? strange point and new!
Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd:
who saw
When this creation was? remember'st thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?

We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
Of this our native heav'n, ethereal sons.
Our puissance is our own, our own right hand
Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold
Whether by supplication we intend
Address, and to begird th' Almighty throne
Beseeching or besieging. This report,
These tidings carry to th' anointed king;
And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He said, and, as the sound of waters deep,
Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
Through the infinite host; nor less for that
The flaming seraph fearless, though alone
Encompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold.

O alienate from GOD, O spirit accurst,
Forsaken of all good, I see thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread
Both of thy crime and punishment. Henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of GOD'S MESSIAH; those indulgent laws

869 *Beseeching*] See Heywood's Spider and Flie, p. 376.
'Myne answere is, not a harnes cap-a-pie
Besieging (stead of beseeching).'

875 *flaming*] 'Each flaming seraph.'
v. *Beaumont's Psyche*, c. xxix. st. 184.

Will not be now vouchsaf'd, other decrees
Against thee are gone forth without recall:
That golden scepter which thou didst reject
Is now an iron rod, to bruise and break
Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise;
Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath
Impendent raging into sudden flame
Distinguish not; for soon expect to feel
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learn,
When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.
So spake the seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithless faithful only he:
Among innumerable false unmov'd,
Unshaken, unseduc'd, unterrify'd,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught;
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud tow'rs to swift destruction doom'd.

888 *Thy disobedience*] Thee disobedient, v. 2. 702, b. 139, b. 687. *Bentl. MS.*

890 *lest*] The construction is deficient. Pearce would understand, 'but I fly' before 'lest.' Bentley proposes reading,

'These wicked tents devote, *but* lest the wrath,' &c.
Newton.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VI.

ARGUMENT.

RAPHAEL continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battel against Satan and his angels. The first fight described: Satan and his powers retire under night: he calls a council, invents devilish engines, which in the second day's fight put Michael and his angels to some disorder; but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan; yet the tumult not so ending, GOD on the third day sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory. He in the power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep. Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

ALL night the dreadless angel unpursu'd [morn,
Through heav'n's wide champain held his way, till
Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
Within the mount of GOD, fast by his throne,
Where light and darkness in perpetual round
Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through
heav'n

[7] *Lodge*] This thought borrowed from Hesiod. Theog. 748. *Newton.*

Grateful vicissitude, like day and night:
Light issues forth, and at the other door
Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour
To veil the heav'n, though darkness there might well
Seem twilight here; and now went forth the morn
Such as in highest heav'n, array'd in gold
Empyreal, from before her vanish'd night,
Shot through with orient beams: when all the plain
Cover'd with thick embattel'd squadrons bright,
Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery steeds,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view.
War he perceiv'd, war in procinct, and found
Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported: gladly then he mix'd
Among those friendly powers, who him receiv'd
With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
That of so many myriads fall'n yet one
Return'd not lost. On to the sacred hill
They led him high applauded, and present
Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice
From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard.
Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintain'd
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear

10 *Obsequious*] opacous. *Bentl. MS.*

14 *vanish'd*] Some editions absurdly read 'vanquish'd.' *Newton.*

Than violence: for this was all thy care,
To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverse. The easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than scorn'd thou didst depart, and to subdue
By force, who reason for their law refuse,
Right reason for their law, and for their king
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.
Go, Michael of celestial armies prince,
And thou, in military prowess next,
Gabriel, lead forth to battel these my sons
Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints
By thousands and by millions rang'd for fight;
Equal in number to that godless crew
Rebellious; them with fire and hostile arms
Fearless assault, and to the brow of heav'n
Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss,
Into their place of punishment, the gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
His fiery chaos to receive their fall.
So spake the sovereign voice, and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
In dusky wreaths reluctant flames, the sign
Of wrath awak'd: nor with less dread the loud
Ethereal trumpet from on high gan blow:
At which command the powers militant
That stood for heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd

[60] *Ethereal*] Archangel. *Bentl. MS.*

Of union irresistible, mov'd on
In silence their bright legions, to the sound
Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd
Heroic ardour to advent'rous deeds,
Under their godlike leaders, in the cause
Of GOD and his Messiah. On they move
Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
Nor strait'ning vale, nor wood, nor stream, divides
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Their march was, and the passive air upbore
Their nimble tread; as when the total kind
Of birds in orderly array on wing
Came summon'd over Eden to receive
Their names of thee: so over many a tract
Of heav'n they march'd, and many a province wide
Tenfold the length of this terrene. At last
Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd
From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd
In battailous aspect, and nearer view
Bristled with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields
Various, with boastful argument pourtray'd,
The banded powers of Satan hasting on
With furious expedition; for they ween'd
That self same day, by fight or by surprize,
To win the mount of GOD, and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud
Aspirer; but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain

[82] *Bristled*] Virg. Æn. xi. 601. 'Tum late ferreus hastis *horret* ager.' *Newton.*

In the mid way. Though strange to us it seem'd
At first, that angel should with angel war,
And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in festivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire,
Hymning th' eternal Father; but the shout
Of battel now began, and rushing sound
Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
High in the midst exalted as a God
Th' apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat,
Idol of Majesty divine, enclos'd
With flaming Cherubim and golden shields:
Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,
A dreadful interval, and front to front
Presented stood in terrible array
Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd,
Satan, with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,
Came tow'ring, arm'd in adamant and gold:
Abdiel that sight endur'd not, where he stood
Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O heav'n! that such resemblance of the Highest
Should yet remain, where faith and realty

[93] *hosting*] Johnson has cited this unusual word from Spenser on Ireland. 'Leading of their own followers to the general *hostings*.'

[105] *dreadful interval*] 'a needful counterview.'

x. 231. *Bentl. MS.*

Remain not; wherefore should not strength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
Where boldest, though to sight unconquerable?
His puissance, trusting in th' Almighty's aid,
I mean to try, whose reason I have try'd
Unsound and false; nor is it aught but just,
That he, who in debate of truth hath won,
Should win in arms, in both disputes alike
Victor: though brutish that contest and foul,
When reason hath to deal with force, yet so
Most reason is that reason overcome.
So pondering, and, from his armed peers
Forth stepping opposite, half way he met
His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens'd, and thus securely him defied. [reach'd
Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,
The throne of GOD unguarded, and his side
Abandon'd at the terror of thy power
Or potent tongue; fool, not to think how vain
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms;
Who out of smallest things could without end
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat
Thy folly; or, with solitary hand
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow
Unaided could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd
Thy legions under darkness: but thou seest
All are not of thy train; there be, who faith
Prefer and piety to GOD; though then

To thee not visible, when I alone
Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent
From all: my sect thou seest; now learn too late
How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.
Whom the grand foe, with scornful eye askance,
Thus answer'd. Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour
Of my revenge, first sought for thou return'st
From flight, seditious angel, to receive
Thy merited reward, the first assay
Of this right hand provok'd, since first that tongue
Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose
A third part of the Gods, in synod met
Their deities to assert, who, while they feel
Vigour divine within them, can allow
Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st
Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me some plume, that thy success may show
Destruction to the rest: this pause between,
Unanswer'd lest thou boast, to let thee know,
At first I thought that liberty and heav'n
To heav'nly souls had been all one; but now
I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
Minist'ring spirits, train'd up in feast and song:
Such hast thou arm'd, the minstrelsy of heav'n,
Servility with freedom to contend,
As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove.
To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern reply'd.
Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name

Of servitude to serve whom God ordains,
Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
Thy self not free, but to thy self enthrall'd;
Yet leudly dar'st our minist'ring upbraid.
Reign thou in hell thy kingdom, let me serve
In heav'n God ever bless'd, and his divine
Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd;
Yet chains in hell, not realms expect: mean while
From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious crest receive.
So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell
On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight,
Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield
Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
His massy spear upstay'd; as if on earth
Winds under ground or waters, forcing way
Side-long, had push'd a mountain from his seat,
Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seiz'd

188 *greeting*] Virg. Æn. ix. 635.
'Bis capti Phryges hæc Rutulis responsa remittunt.'
Newton.

189 *a noble*] v. Beaumont's Psyche, c. vi. st. 90.
'A noble stroke it was.'

197 *mountain*] Q. Smyrnæus says, that Achilles fell, ἀλίγκιος ὄυρει μάκρῳ. V. iii. 176. *A. Dyce.*

The rebel thrones, but greater rage to see
Thus foil'd their mightiest; ours joy fill'd, and shout,
Presage of victory, and fierce desire
Of battel: whereat Michael bid sound
The arch-angel trumpet; through the vast of heav'n
It sounded, and the faithful armies rung
Hosanna to the Highest: nor stood at gaze
The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd
The horrid shock. Now storming fury rose,
And clamour, such as heard in heav'n till now
Was never; arms on armour clashing bray'd
Horrible discord, and the madding wheels
Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noise
Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts in flaming vollies flew,
And flying vaulted either host with fire.
So under fiery cope together rush'd
Both battels main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage; all heav'n
Resounded, and had earth been then, all earth
Had to her center shook. What wonder? when
Millions of fierce encount'ring angels fought
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions: how much more of power
Army against army numberless to raise
Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
Had not the eternal King omnipotent
From his strong hold of heav'n high overrul'd

And limited their might; though number'd such,
As each divided legion might have seem'd
A numerous host; in strength each armed hand
A legion; led in fight, yet leader seem'd
Each warrior single as in chief, expert
When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
Of battel, open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war; no thought of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argu'd fear; each on himself rely'd,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory: deeds of eternal fame
Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread
That war and various; sometimes on firm ground
A standing fight; then soaring on main wing
Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
Conflicting fire. Long time in even scale
The battel hung; till Satan, who that day
Prodigious power had shewn, and met in arms
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd
Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
Brandish'd aloft the horrid edge came down

211 *Tormented*] Tempested. *Bentl. MS.*
Lod. Bryskett's M. Muse of Thestylis.

'Who, letting loose the winds,
Tost, and tormented the air.' *Newton.*

215 *even scale*] v. Eurip. Suppl. v. 706. Tasso, G. Lib. cxx. st. 50. Spens. F. Qu. iv. iii. 37. *Todd.*

Wide wasting: such destruction to withstand
He hasted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield,
A vast circumference. At his approach
The great arch-angel from his warlike toil
Surceas'd; and glad, as hoping here to end
Intestine war in heav'n, th' arch-foe subdu'd
Or captive drag'd in chains, with hostile frown
And visage all inflam'd, first thus began.

Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
Unnam'd in heav'n, now plenteous, as thou seest
These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
Though heaviest by just measure on thy self
And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb'd
Heav'n's blessed peace, and into nature brought
Misery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy rebellion? how hast thou instill'd
Thy malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful, now prov'd false! But think not here
To trouble holy rest; heav'n casts thee out
From all her confines: heav'n the seat of bliss
Brooks not the works of violence and war.
Hence then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,
Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
Or some more sudden vengeance wing'd from GOD
Precipitate thee with augmented pain.

So spake the prince of angels; to whom thus
The adversary. Nor think thou with wind

Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of these
To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquish'd? easier to transact with me
That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
To chase me hence? err not that so shall end
The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style
The strife of glory: which we mean to win,
Or turn this heav'n itself into the hell
Thou fablest; here however to dwell free,
If not to reign: meanwhile thy utmost force,
And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
I fly not, but have sought thee far and nigh.
They ended parle, and both address'd for fight
Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue
Of angels, can relate, or to what things
Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift
Human imagination to such highth
Of godlike power? for likest gods they seem'd,
Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great heav'n.
Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air
Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields
Blaz'd opposite, while expectation stood

296 *address'd*] Spens. F. Qu. v. ii. 12.
'And straighte himselfe unto the fight addrest.' *Todd.*
306 *expectation*] So Shakesp. Hen. V.
'For now sits *expectation* in the air.'
And Beaum. and Fletch. Boadicea, act iii. scene i.
'And *expectation* like the Roman eagle
Took stand'— *Newton. Todd.*

In horror; from each hand with speed retir'd,
Where erst was thickest fight, th' angelic throng,
And left large field, unsafe within the wind
Of such commotion, such as, to set forth
Great things by small, if, nature's concord broke,
Among the constellations war were sprung,
Two planets, rushing from aspect malign
Of fiercest opposition, in mid sky
Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound.
Together both, with next to Almighty arm,
Uplifted imminent, one stroke they aim'd
That might determine, and not need repeat,
As not of power, at once; nor odds appear'd
In might or swift prevention; but the sword
Of Michael from the armoury of God
Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
The sword of Satan with steep force to smite
Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor stay'd,
But with swift wheel reverse, deep ent'ring, shar'd
All his right side; then Satan first knew pain,
And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so sore
The griding sword with discontinuous wound

317 *imminent*] Virg. Æn. vi. 602.

'Quos super atra silex, jam jam lapsura, cadentique
Imminet assimilis.' *Newton.*

329 *griding*] Spens. F. Q. ii. viii. 36.

'That through his thigh the mortal steel did *gride*.'
Newton.

329 *discontinuous wound*] Compare an expression of Horace,

'Oceano *dissociabili*.' Ode iii. b. i. *A. Dyce.*

Pass'd thro' him, but th' ethereal substance clos'd,
Not long divisible, and from the gash
A stream of nectarous humor issuing flow'd
Sanguine, such as celestial spirits may bleed,
And all his armour stain'd ere while so bright.
Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run
By angels many and strong, who interpos'd
Defence, while others bore him on their shields
Back to his chariot; where it stood retir'd
From off the files of war: there they him laid
Gnashing for anguish, and despite, and shame,
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power.
Yet soon he heal'd; for spirits that live throughout
Vital in every part, not as frail man
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
Cannot but by annihilating die;
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
All intellect, all sense, and as they please
They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.
Meanwhile in other parts like deeds deserv'd
Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce ensigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloc furious king, who him defy'd,
And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of heav'n

Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon,
Down cloven to the waist, with shatter'd arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing
Uriel and Raphael his vaunting foe,
Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,
Vanquish'd, Adramelec and Asmadai,
Two potent thrones, that to be less than Gods
Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
Mangled with ghastly wounds thro' plate and mail.
Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow
Ariel, and Arioc, and the violence
Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted, overthrew.
I might relate of thousands, and their names
Eternize here on earth; but those elect
Angels, contented with their fame in heav'n,
Seek not the praise of men: the other sort,
In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
Cancel'd from heav'n and sacred memory,
Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.
For strength from truth divided and from just,
Illaudable, naught merits but dispraise
And ignominy; yet to glory aspires

362 *uncouth*] Spen. F. Qu. 1. xi. 20.
'That with the *uncouth smart* the monster *loudly cryde*.' *Thyer*.

368 *plate*] Spen. F. Qu. 1. vi. 43.
'With their force they perst both *plate* and *mail*.' *Todd*.

Vainglorious, and through infamy seeks fame:
Therefore eternal silence be their doom.
And now, their mightiest quell'd, the battel swerv'd,
With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout
Enter'd and foul disorder: all the ground
With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap
Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd,
And fiery foaming steeds; what stood, recoil'd
O'erwearied, through the faint Satanic host
Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpriz'd,
Then first with fear surpriz'd and sense of pain
Fled ignominious, to such evil brought
By sin of disobedience, till that hour
Not liable to fear, or flight, or pain.
Far otherwise th' inviolable saints
In cubic phalanx firm advanc'd entire,
Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd:
Such high advantages their innocence
Gave them above their foes, not to have sinn'd,
Not to have disobey'd; in fight they stood
Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd
By wound, tho' from their place by violence mov'd.
Now night her course began, and, over heav'n
Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,

399 *cubic*] Squared. Embodied, 779. *Bentl. MS.*

407 *Inducing*] Hor. Sat. i. v. 9.

——— 'Jam nox *inducere* terris
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa parabat.'
Newton.

And silence on the odious din of war:
Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,
Victor and vanquish'd. On the foughten field
Michael and his angels prevalent
Encamping plac'd in guard their watches round,
Cherubic waving fires: on th' other part
Satan with his rebellious disappear'd,
Far in the dark dislodg'd, and void of rest
His potentates to council call'd by night;
And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

O now in danger try'd, now known in arms
Not to be overpower'd, companions dear,
Found worthy not of liberty alone,
Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
Honour, dominion, glory, and renown;
Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight,
And if one day why not eternal days?
What heaven's Lord had powerfullest to send
Against us from about his throne, and judg'd
Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd,
Some disadvantage we endur'd and pain,
Till now not known, but known, as soon contemn'd;

410 *foughten*] Shakesp. Hen. V.

'As in this glorious and *well foughten* field.'

and Fletcher's Laws of Candy, act iii. scene 1, 'are tales of *foughten* fields.' *Todd.*

Since now we find this our empyreal form
Incapable of mortal injury,
Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound
Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd.
Of evil then so small as easy think
The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
May serve to better us, and worse our foes:
Or equal what between us made the odds,
In nature none: if other hidden cause
Left them superior, while we can preserve
Unhurt our minds and understanding sound,
Due search and consultation will disclose.
He sat; and in th' assembly next upstood
Nisroc, of principalities the prime;
As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,
Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havock hewn;
And cloudy in aspect thus answering spake.
Deliverer from new lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
For Gods, and too unequal work we find
Against unequal arms to fight in pain,
Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil
Ruin must needs ensue, for what avails
Valour or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain,
Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
Of mightiest? sense of pleasure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
But live content, which is the calmest life:

But pain is perfect misery, the worst
Of evils, and excessive overturns
All patience. He who therefore can invent
With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Our selves with like defence, to me deserves
No less than for deliverance what we owe.
Whereto with look compos'd Satan reply'd.
Not uninvented that, which thou aright
Believ'st so main to our success, I bring:
Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this ethereous mould whereon we stand,
This continent of spacious heav'n, adorn'd
With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems, and gold,
Whose eye so superficially surveys
These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
Of spirituous and fiery spume, till touch'd
With heaven's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth
So beauteous, op'ning to the ambient light?
These in their dark nativity the deep
Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame,
Which into hollow engines long and round
Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
From far with thund'ring noise among our foes
Such implements of mischief, as shall dash

467 *to me*] i. e. in my opinion.
478 *dark*] dank. *Bentl. MS.*

To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands
Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd
The thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.
Nor long shall be our labour; yet ere dawn,
Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;
Abandon fear; to strength and counsel join'd
Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd.
He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
Enlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.
Th' invention all admir'd, and each, how he
To be th' inventor miss'd, so easy it seem'd
Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought
Impossible: yet haply of thy race
In future days, if malice should abound,
Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
With dev'lish machination, might devise
Like instrument, to plague the sons of men
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.
Forthwith from council to the work they flew,
None arguing stood; innumerable hands
Were ready, in a moment up they turn'd
Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath
Th' originals of nature in their crude
Conception: sulphurous and nitrous foam
They found, they mingled, and with subtle art
Concocted and adusted they reduc'd
To blackest grain, and into store convey'd.
Part hidden veins digg'd up, nor hath this earth
Entrails unlike, of mineral and stone,

Whereof to found their engines and their balls
Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
So all ere day-spring, under conscious night
Secret, they finish'd, and in order set,
With silent circumspection unespy'd.

Now when fair morn orient in heav'n appear'd,
Up rose the victor angels, and to arms
The matin trumpet sung: in arms they stood
Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,
Each quarter, to descry the distant foe,
Where lodged, or whither fled, or if for fight,
In motion or in alt: him soon they met
Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
But firm battalion: back with speediest sail
Zophiel, of cherubim the swiftest wing,
Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cry'd.

Arm, warriors, arm for fight, the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day, fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
He comes, and settled in his face I see
Sad resolution and secure: let each

520 *pernicious*] probably to be understood in the sense of the Latin pernix, speedy. *Newton.*

526 *matin*] Tasso Gier. Lib. c. xi. st. 19.

'Quando a cantar la *mattutina tromba*
Comincia à l' arme.' *Thyer.*

His adamantine coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield,
Borne ev'n or high; for this day will pour down,
If I conjecture aught, no drizzling show'r,
But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.
So warn'd he them, aware themselves, and soon
In order, quit of all impediment;
Instant without disturb they took alarm,
And onward move embattel'd; when behold
Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
Approaching gross and huge; in hollow cube
Training his devilish enginry, impal'd
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
To hide the fraud. At interview both stood
A while; but suddenly at head appear'd
Satan; and thus was heard commanding loud.
Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
That all may see, who hate us, how we seek
Peace and composure, and with open breast
Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
But that I doubt; however witness heaven,
Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge
Freely our part: ye who appointed stand
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear.

542 *coat*] Hor. Od. i. vi. 13.
'Martem *tunica* tectum *adamantina*.' *Todd.*

545 *aught*] Fenton wishes to read 'right.'

552 *cube*] Tubes, 483. *Bentl. MS.*

So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
Had ended; when to right and left the front
Divided, and to either flank retir'd:
Which to our eyes discover'd, new and strange,
A triple mounted row of pillars, laid
On wheels, for like to pillars most they seem'd,
Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir
With branches lop'd, in wood or mountain fell'd,
Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
Portending hollow truce; at each behind
A seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tip'd with fire; while we suspense
Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd;
Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent apply'd
With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
But soon obscur'd with smoke, all heav'n appear'd,
From those deep-throated engines belch'd, whose
Embowel'd with outrageous noise the air, [roar
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
Their devilish glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail
Of iron globes, which on the victor host

571 *hollow'd bodies*] Pallisadoes, 483. *Bent. MS.*

589 *Stood waving*] This is certainly an error, 'stood' occurs in the line before and after. Bentley would read 'Held;' but wishing to keep as close to the text as I can, I propose 'shone.' Mr. Dyce proposes 'shook.'

586 *belch'd*] See Beaumont's Psyche, c. xx. st. 103.

'But oft it gap'd and belch'd, whence upwards broke
Black volumes of contagious stink and smoke.'

Level'd with such impetuous fury smote,
That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand,
Though standing else as rocks; but down they fell
By thousands, angel on archangel roll'd,
The sooner for their arms; unarm'd they might
Have easily as spirits evaded swift
By quick contraction or remove: but now
Foul dissipation follow'd and forc'd rout:
Nor serv'd it to relax their serried files.
What should they do? if on they rush'd, repulse
Repeated, and indecent overthrow
Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,
And to their foes a laughter: for in view
Stood rank'd of seraphim another row,
In posture to displode their second tire
Of thunder: back defeated to return
They worse abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O friends, why come not on these victors proud?
Ere while they fierce were coming, and when we,
To entertain them fair with open front [terms
And breast (what could we more?) propounded
Of composition, straight they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
As they would dance: yet for a dance they seem'd
Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace: but I suppose,
If our proposals once again were heard,
We should compel them to a quick result.

To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood.

Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home;
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And stumbled many; who receives them right,
Had need from head to foot well understand;
Not understood, this gift they have besides,
They shew us when our foes walk not upright.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing, heighten'd in their thoughts beyond
All doubt of victory; eternal might
To match with their inventions they presum'd
So easy, and of his thunder made a scorn,
And all his host derided, while they stood
A while in trouble; but they stood not long;
Rage prompted them at length, and found them
Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose. [arms
Forthwith, behold the excellence, the power
Which God hath in his mighty angels plac'd!
Their arms away they threw, and to the hills,
For earth hath this variety from heav'n
Of pleasure situate in hill and dale,
Light as the light'ning glimpse they ran, they flew,
From their foundations loos'ning to and fro
They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,

625 *understand*] This equivocation adapted from Shakespeare's Two G. of Verona, ii. 5.

'My staff *understands* me,' &c. *Johnson.*

636 *understood*] under—stoop. *Bentl. MS.*

642 *light'ning*] See Nonni Dionysiaca, ii. 293, xiv. 55.

644 *pluck'd*] Compare Statii Theb. ii. 559.

'Saxum ingens, quod vix plena cervice gementes

Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
Up lifting bore them in their hands. Amaze,
Be sure, and terror seiz'd the rebel host,
When coming towards them so dread they saw
The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
Till on those cursed engines triple-row
They saw them whelm'd, and all their confidence
Under the weight of mountains buried deep,
Themselves invaded next, and on their heads
Main promontories flung, which in the air
Came shadowing, and opprest whole legions arm'd;
Their armour help'd their harm, crush'd in and bruis'd
Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind
Out of such prison, though spirits of purest light,
Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown.
The rest in imitation to like arms
Betook them, and the neighbouring hills uptore;
So hills amid the air encounter'd hills,
Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire,
That under ground they fought in dismal shade;
Infernal noise; war seem'd a civil game
To this uproar; horrid confusion heap'd
Upon confusion rose: and now all heav'n
Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread,
Had not th' Almighty Father, where he sits

Vertere humo, murisque valent inferre juvenci,
Rupibus avellit: dein toto sanguine nixus
Sustinet,' &c.

Shrin'd in his sanctuary of heav'n secure,
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:
That his great purpose he might so fulfil,
To honour his anointed Son aveng'd
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All power on him transferr'd: whence to his Son
Th' assessor of his throne he thus began.
Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,
Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by Deity I am,
And in whose hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence, two days are past,
Two days, as we compute the days of heav'n,
Since Michael and his powers went forth to tame
These disobedient; sore hath been their fight,
As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd;
For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st
Equal in their creation they were form'd,
Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought
Insensibly, for I suspend their doom;
Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
Endless, and no solution will be found.
War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,
And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins, [makes
With mountains as with weapons arm'd, which
Wild work in heav'n and dangerous to the main.
Two days are therefore past, the third is thine;

674 *advis'd*] A participle adverbial, and very elegant; it means advisedly, as Hor. Ode I. iii. 21. *Richardson.*

For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far
Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine
Of ending this great war, since none but thou
Can end it. Into thee such virtue and grace
Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know
In heav'n and hell thy power above compare,
And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,
To manifest thee worthiest to be heir
Of all things, to be heir and to be king
By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
Go then, thou Mightiest, in thy Father's might,
Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake heav'n's basis, bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;
Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out
From all heav'n's bounds into the utter deep:
There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
God and Messiah his anointed king.
He said, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full, he all his Father full exprest
Ineffably into his face receiv'd,
And thus the filial Godhead answering spake.
O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly thrones,
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,
As is most just; this I my glory account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou in me well pleas'd declar'st thy will
Fulfill'd, which to fulfill is all my bliss.

Scepter, and power, thy giving, I assume,
And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee
For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st:
But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,
Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
Arm'd with thy might, rid heav'n of these rebell'd,
To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down
To chains of darkness and th' undying worm;
That from thy just obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey is happiness entire.
Then shall thy saints unmix'd, and from th' impure
Far separate, circling thy holy mount
Unfained hallelujahs to thee sing,
Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.

So said, he, o'er his sceptre bowing, rose
From the right hand of glory where he sat,
And the third sacred morn began to shine,
Dawning through heav'n: forth rush'd with whirl-
The chariot of paternal Deity, [wind sound
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit, but convoy'd
By four cherubic shapes; four faces each
Had wondrous, as with stars their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels
Of beril, and careering fires between;
Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a saphire throne, inlaid with pure

758 *Whereon*] Fenton reads 'Where, on.' *Todd.*

Amber, and colours of the show'ry arch.
He, in celestial panoply all arm'd
Of radiant Urim work divinely wrought,
Ascended; at his right hand Victory
Sate eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his bow
And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd,
And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
Of smoke, and bickering flame, and sparkles dire.
Attended with ten thousand thousand saints
He onward came, far off his coming shone,
And twenty thousand, I their number heard,
Chariots of GOD, half on each hand were seen.
He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime,
On the crystalline sky, in saphire thron'd.
Illustrious far and wide, but by his own
First seen, them unexpected joy surpris'd,
When the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd,
Aloft by angels borne, his sign in heav'n:
Under whose conduct Michael soon reduc'd
His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
Under their head embodied all in one.
Before him power divine his way prepar'd;
At his command the uprooted hills retir'd
Each to his place, they heard his voice and went
Obsequious; Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley smil'd.
This saw his hapless foes, but stood obdur'd,

759 *show'ry arch*] A. Ramsæi, P. Sacr. ed. Lauder, l. 5.
'Cœlo sicut Thaumantias udo,
Cum picturatum dat mille coloribus arcum.'

And to rebellious fight rallied their powers
Insensate, hope conceiving from despair:
In heav'nly spirits could such perverseness dwell?
But to convince the proud what signs avail,
Or wonders move the obdurate to relent?
They harden'd more by what might most reclaim,
Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
Took envy, and, aspiring to his highth,
Stood reimbattell'd fierce, by force or fraud
Weening to prosper, and at length prevail
Against God and Messiah, or to fall
In universal ruin last; and now
To final battel drew, disdaining flight,
Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
To all his host on either hand thus spake.
Stand still in bright array, ye saints, here stand,
Ye angels arm'd, this day from battel rest;
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause,
And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye done
Invincibly: but of this cursed crew
The punishment to other hand belongs;
Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:
Number to this day's work is not ordain'd,

787] *hope*] Virg. Æn. ii. 354.

'Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.'

and Q. Curt. L. v. c. iv.

'Sæpe desperatio spei causa est.'

Newton.

797 *last*] Tickell and Bentley read 'lost.'

Nor multitude, stand only and behold
God's indignation on these godless pour'd
By me; not you, but me they have despis'd,
Yet envied: against me is all their rage,
Because the Father, t' whom in heav'n supreme
Kingdom, and power, and glory appertains,
Hath honour'd me according to his will.
Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd;
That they may have their wish, to try with me
In battel which the stronger proves, they all,
Or I alone against them; since by strength
They measure all, of other excellence
Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.
So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd
His count'nance, too severe to be beheld
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.
At once the four spread out their starry wings
With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.
He on his impious foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
The steadfast empyrean shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God. Full soon
Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand
Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues: they astonish'd all resistance lost,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropp'd;

O'er shields, and helms, and helmed heads he rode
Of thrones and mighty seraphim prostrate,
That wish'd the mountains now might be again
Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.
Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold visag'd Four,
Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
Distinct alike with multitude of eyes;
One spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
Glar'd light'ning, and shot forth pernicious fire
Among th' accurst, that wither'd all their strength,
And of their wonted vigour left them drain'd,
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid volly, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of heav'n.
The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd
Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursu'd
With terrors and with furies to the bounds

811 *prostrate*] Fairfax and Spenser accent this word on the last syllable. v. Tasso, c i. 83;

'And lay his powers prostráte.' F. Qu. xii. 39.

'Before fair Britomart she fell prostráte.' *Newton.*

858 *thunder*] See Beaumont's Psyche, c. xx. st. 102.

'Down plung'd this mixed rout which almost split
The greedy throat of the sulphureous deep,
Loud was the noise of this great fall, but yet
Far louder was their crie, who down the steep
Eternal precipice still tumbled, and
No bottom saw, to bid their ruine stand.'

And crystal wall of heav'n, which op'ning wide
Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd
Into the wasteful deep; the monstrous sight
Struck them with horror backward; but far worse
Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of heav'n, eternal wrath
Burn'd after them to the bottomless pit.
Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, hell saw
Heav'n ruining from heav'n, and would have fled
Affrighted; but strict fate had cast too deep
Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy; so huge a rout
Incumber'd him with ruin: hell at last
Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd,
Hell their fit habitation, fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.
Disburden'd heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
Sole victor from th' expulsion of his foes
Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his saints, who silent stood
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,

868 *ruining*] Falling down with ruin, from the Italian *ruinando*. v. Tasso's Gier. Lib. ix. 39.

'Gli alberi intorno *ruinando* atterra.' *Thyer.*

877 *house*] Fairfax's Tasso, ix. st. 59.

'Fit house for them, the *house* of *grief and pain*.'
Newton.

With jubilee advanc'd; and as they went,
Shaded with branching palm, each order bright
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion giv'n,
Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid heav'n, into the courts
And temple of his mighty Father thron'd
On high; who into glory him receiv'd,
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.

Thus measuring things in heav'n by things on earth,
At thy request, and that thou may'st beware
By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd
What might have else to human race been hid;
The discord which befell, and war in heav'n
Among th' angelic powers, and the deep fall
Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd
With Satan, he who envies now thy state,
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee also from obedience, that with him
Bereav'd of happiness thou may'st partake
His punishment, eternal misery,
Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite done against the Most High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
But listen not to his temptations, warn
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard
By terrible example the reward
Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,
Yet fell: remember, and fear to transgress.

900 *he*] The construction, Bentley observes, requires 'him.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

RAPHAEL, at the request of Adam, relates how, and wherefore, this world was first created; that GOD, after the expelling of Satan and his angels out of heaven, declared his pleasure to create another world, and other creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with glory and attendance of angels to perform the work of creation in six days: the angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his reascension into heaven.

DESCEND from heav'n, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whose voice divine
Following, above th' Olympian hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasean wing.
The meaning, not the name, I call: for thou
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st, but heav'nly born,
Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play

[7] *old Olympus*] 'cold.' *Bentl. MS.* 1. 516. 1. 428. 2. 393.

[7] *old*] Some would read 'cold,' as in book i. 516; but it is called 'old,' as being 'fam'd of old,' see book i. 420, ii. 593. *Newton.*

In presence of th' almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy celestial song. Up led by thee
Into the heav'n of heav'ns I have presum'd,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy temp'ring; with like safety guided down
Return me to my native element:
Least from this flying steed unrein'd, as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime,
Dismounted, on the Aleian field I fall
Erroneous, there to wander and forlorn.
Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound,
Within the visible diurnal sphere;
Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n and evil tongues,
In darkness, and with dangers compast round,
And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn
Purples the east. Still govern thou my song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few.
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drown'd
Both harp and voice; nor could the muse defend

35 *ears*] Hor. Od. i. xii. v. 11.

'*Auritas* fidibus canoris
Ducere *quercus*.' *Todd.*

Her son. So fail not thou, who thee implores :
For thou art heav'nly, she an empty dream.
Say, Goddess, what ensu'd when Raphael,
The affable arch-angel, had forewarn'd
Adam by dire example to beware
Apostasy, by what befell in heav'n
To those apostates, lest the like befall
In Paradise to Adam or his race,
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,
If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
So easily obey'd, amid the choice
Of all tastes else to please their appetite,
Though wand'ring. He with his consorted Eve
The story heard attentive, and was fill'd
With admiration and deep muse, to hear
Of things so high and strange, things to their thought
So unimaginable as hate in heav'n,
And war so near the peace of GOD in bliss
With such confusion : but the evil soon
Driv'n back redounded as a flood on those
From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
With blessedness. Whence Adam soon repeal'd
The doubts that in his heart arose : and now
Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know
What nearer might concern him, how this world
Of heav'n and earth conspicuous first began,
When, and whereof, created, for what cause,
What within Eden, or without, was done
Before his memory, as one whose drouth

Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,
Proceeded thus to ask his heav'nly guest.
Great things, and full of wonder in our ears,
Far differing from this world, thou hast reveal'd,
Divine interpreter, by favour sent
Down from the empyrean to forewarn
Us timely of what might else have been our loss,
Unknown, which human knowledge could not reach:
For which to the infinitely Good we owe
Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
Receive with solemn purpose to observe
Immutably his sovereign will, the end
Of what we are. But since thou hast vouchsaf'd
Gently for our instruction to impart
Things above earthly thought, which yet concern'd
Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seem'd,
Deign to descend now lower, and relate
What may no less perhaps avail us known,
How first began this heav'n which we behold
Distant so high, with moving fires adorn'd

[72] *interpreter*] So Mercury is called in Virgil. 'Interpres Divûm.' Æn. iv. 378. *Newton.*

[81] *relate*] So in the Adamus Exul of Grotius, p. 16. Adam says to the angel:

'Age, si vacabit, (scire nam perfectius
Quæ facta fuerint, ante me factum, potes)
Narra petenti, quomodo, quoque ordine
Tam magna numeris machina impieta est suis.'

Innumerable, and this which yields or fills
All space, the ambient air wide interfus'd
Embracing round this florid earth, what cause
Mov'd the Creator in his holy rest
Through all eternity so late to build
In chaos, and the work begun, how soon
Absolv'd, if unforbid thou may'st unfold
What we not to explore the secrets ask
Of his eternal empire, but the more
To magnify his works, the more we know.
And the great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race though steep, suspense in heav'n
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His generation, and the rising birth
Of nature from the unapparent deep:
Or if the star of ev'ning and the moon
Haste to thy audience, night with her will bring
Silence, and sleep list'ning to thee will watch:
Or we can bid his absence, till thy song
End, and dismiss thee ere the morning shine.
Thus Adam his illustrious guest besought;
And thus the Godlike Angel answer'd mild.
This also thy request with caution ask'd

90 *florid*] Globous. *Bentl. MS.*

99 *heaven*] In the first edition there was no comma after 'heaven;' Pearce altered the punctuation.

103 *unapparent*] ἄορατος. *Bentl. MS.*

108 *End*] for 'ending dismiss thee;' so ii. 917, 'Stood, and look'd' for 'standing look'd.' *Todd.*

Obtain: though to recount almighty works
What words or tongue of seraph can suffice,
Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?
Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
To glorify the Maker, and infer
Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
Thy hearing, such commission from above
I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain
To ask, nor let thine own inventions hope
Things not reveal'd, which th' invisible King,
Only omniscient, hath suppress in night,
To none communicable in earth or heaven:
Enough is left besides to search and know.
But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain,
Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.

Know then, that after Lucifer from heav'n,
So call him, brighter once amidst the host
Of angels, than that star the stars among,

123 *night*] Hor. Od. iii. 29. 29.

> 'Prudens futuri temporis exitum
> Caliginosa nocte premit Deus.' *Thyer.*

129 *surfeit*] See Davenant's Gondibert, c. viii. st. 22.

> 'For though books serve as diet of the mind,
> If knowledge early got, self-value breeds,
> By false digestion it is turn'd to wind,
> And what should nourish on the eater feeds.'

Fell with his flaming legions through the deep
Into his place, and the great Son return'd
Victorious with his saints, th' omnipotent
Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake.
At least our envious foe hath fail'd, who thought
All like himself rebellious, by whose aid
This inaccessible high strength, the seat
Of deity supreme, us dispossest,
He trusted to have seiz'd, and into fraud
Drew many, whom their place knows here no more:
Yet far the greater part have kept, I see,
Their station, heav'n yet populous retains
Number sufficient to possess her realms
Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
With ministeries due and solemn rites.
But least his heart exalt him in the harm
Already done, to have dispeopled heav'n,
My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create
Another world, out of one man a race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd,
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience try'd,

150 *least*] Mr. Thyer saith, 'That I do not like taking liberties with the text, or I should read "at last."'

And earth be chang'd to heav'n, and heav'n to earth,
One kingdom, joy and union without end.
Meanwhile inhabit lax, ye powers of heav'n,
And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform, speak thou, and be it done.
My overshadowing spirit and might with thee
I send along; ride forth, and bid the deep
Within appointed bounds be heav'n and earth,
Boundless the deep, because I am who fill
Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.
Though I uncircumscrib'd myself retire,
And put not forth my goodness, which is free
To act, or not, necessity and chance
Approach not me, and what I will is fate.
So spake th' Almighty, and to what he spake
His Word, the Filial Godhead, gave effect.
Immediate are the acts of God, more swift
Than time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without process of speech be told,
So told as earthly notion can receive.
Great triumph and rejoicing was in heav'n,
When such was heard declar'd the Almighty's will;
Glory they sung to the Most High, good will

[173] *fate*] Todd has quoted Plato's Timæus, ed. Serrani, vol. iii. p. 41. Bentley cites Lucan, v. ver. 91. Jortin, Statii Theb. i. 212. Thyer, Claud. de R. Pros. ii. 306. and Tasso Gier. Lib. iv. 17.

'Sia destin cio, ch' io voglio.'

[182] *the*] Bentley reads 'to *God* most high,' which Newton approves.

To future men, and in their dwellings peace;
Glory to him, whose just avenging ire
Had driven out th' ungodly from his sight
And th' habitations of the just; to him
Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
Good out of evil to create, in stead
Of spirits malign a better race to bring
Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
His good to worlds and ages infinite.
So sang the Hierarchies. Mean while the Son
On his great expedition now appear'd,
Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crown'd
Of Majesty divine, sapience and love
Immense, and all his Father in him shone.
About his chariot numberless were pour'd
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And Virtues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
From the armoury of GOD, where stand of old
Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day, harness'd at hand,
Celestial equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them spirit liv'd,
Attendant on their Lord: heav'n open'd wide
Her ever during gates, harmonious sound
On golden hinges moving, to let forth
The King of glory, in his powerful Word
And spirit coming to create new worlds.
On heavenly ground they stood, and from the shore
They view'd the vast immeasurable abyss
Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,

Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds
And surging waves, as mountains, to assault
Heav'n's highth, and with the center mix the pole.
Silence, ye troubled waves, and, thou deep, peace,
Said then th' omnific Word, your discord end.
Nor staid; but, on the wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in Paternal Glory rode
Far into Chaos and the world unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice. Him all his train
Follow'd in bright procession to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then stay'd the fervid wheels, and in his hand
He took the golden compasses, prepar'd
In GOD's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things.
One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just circumference, O world.
Thus GOD the heav'n created, thus the earth,
Matter unform'd and void. Darkness profound
Cover'd th' Abyss; but on the wat'ry calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of GOD outspread,
And vital virtue infus'd and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid mass, but downward purg'd

214 *And*] Newton would read 'In surging waves;' it seems better, says Todd, as the *Doctor observes*, to say of the sea, 'in surging waves,' than 'by.'

224 *fervid*] Hor. Od. i. i. 4.

'Metaque *fervidis*
Evitata rotis.' *Hume.*

The black, tartareous, cold, infernal, dregs,
Adverse to life: then founded, then conglob'd
Like things to like; the rest to several place
Disparted, and between spun out the air,
And earth self-balanc'd on her center hung.
Let there be light, said GOD, and forthwith light
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure,
Sprung from the deep, and from her native east
To journey through the aery gloom began,
Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun
Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle
Sojourn'd the while. GOD saw the light was good;
And light from darkness by the hemisphere
Divided: light the day, and darkness night,
He nam'd. Thus was the first day ev'n and morn:
Nor past uncelebrated, nor unsung
By the celestial choirs, when orient light
Exhaling first from darkness they beheld,
Birth-day of heav'n and earth; with joy and shout
The hollow universal orb they fill'd,
And touch'd their golden harps, and hymning prais'd
GOD and his works, creator him they sung,
Both when first evening was, and when first morn.
Again God said, Let there be firmament
Amid the waters, and let it divide
The waters from the waters: and GOD made
The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, elemental air, diffus'd
In circuit to the uttermost convex

[239] *founded*] Rounded. *Bentl. MS.*

Of this great round; partition firm and sure,
The waters underneath from those above
Dividing: for as earth, so he the world
Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Crystallin ocean, and the loud misrule
Of Chaos far remov'd, lest fierce extremes
Contiguous might distemper the whole frame:
And heav'n he nam'd the firmament: so ev'n
And morning chorus sung the second day.

The earth was form'd, but, in the womb as yet
Of waters embryon immature involv'd,
Appear'd not: over all the face of earth
Main ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warm
Prolific humour soft'ning all her globe
Fermented the great mother to conceive,
Satiate with genial moisture, when God said,
Be gather'd now, ye waters under heav'n,
Into one place, and let dry land appear.
Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave
Into the clouds, their tops ascend the sky.
So high as heav'd the tumid hills, so low
Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
Capacious bed of waters: thither they
Hasted with glad precipitance, uproll'd
As drops on dust conglobing from the dry:
Part rise in crystal wall, or ridge direct,
For haste; such flight the great command imprest
On the swift floods: as armies at the call
Of trumpet, for of armies thou hast heard,

Troop to their standard, so the wat'ry throng,
Wave rolling after wave, where way they found;
If steep, with torrent rapture, if through plain,
Soft-ebbing; nor withstood them rock or hill,
But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
With serpent error wand'ring, found their way,
And on the washy oose deep channels wore,
Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,
All but within those banks, where rivers now
Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
The dry land earth, and the great receptacle
Of congregated waters he call'd seas;
And saw that it was good, and said, Let th' earth
Put forth the verdant grass, herb yielding seed,
And fruit tree yielding fruit after her kind;
Whose seed is in herself upon the earth.
He scarce had said, when the bare earth, till then
Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorn'd,
Brought forth the tender grass, whose verdure clad
Her universal face with pleasant green;
Then herbs of every leaf, that sudden flow'r'd
Op'ning their various colours, and made gay
Her bosom smelling sweet: and these scarce blown,
Forth flourish'd thick the clust'ring vine, forth crept

302 *serpent*] See Strabo, ix. 424. Ap. Rhod. iv. 1541. Davies ad Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 42. Solin. Polyhist. cxxiv. 4. x. Virg. Georg. i. 244. Senecæ Thyestes, 869. Peele's Works by Dyce, ii. 11, ed. 1829: and Sandys' Psalms, p. 170.

'With snake-like glide between the bordering hills.'

302 *wand'ring*] Winding. ii. 56. *Bentl. MS.*

The swelling gourd, up stood the corny reed
Embattel'd in her field; and th' humble shrub,
And bush with frizzled hair implicit: last
Rose, as in dance, the stately trees, and spread
Their branches hung with copious fruit, or gemm'd
Their blossoms: with high woods the hills were crown'd;
With tufts the valleys and each fountain side,
With borders long the rivers: that earth now
Seem'd like to heav'n, a seat where Gods might dwell,
Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
Her sacred shades: though God had yet not rain'd
Upon the earth, and man to till the ground
None was; but from the earth a dewy mist
Went up and water'd all the ground, and each
Plant of the field; which, ere it was in the earth,
God made, and ev'ry herb, before it grew
On the green stem: God saw that it was good:
So ev'n and morn recorded the third day.

Again th' Almighty spake: Let there be lights
High in th' expanse of heaven to divide
The day from night; and let them be for signs,
For seasons, and for days, and circling years;
And let them be for lights, as I ordain

321 *swelling*] See Le Api de Ruscellai, v. 460.

'E dir ci come col gonfiato ventre
L'idropica cucurbita s'ingrossi.'

and Milton's Prose Works, vi. p. 388. 'The tumid pumpkin.'

321 *corny*] Virg. Æn. iii. 22.

'Quo *cornea* summo
Virgulta, et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.' *Hume.*

Their office in the firmament of heav'n
To give light on the earth; and it was so.
And GOD made two great lights, great for their use
To man, the greater to have rule by day,
The less by night, altern: and made the stars,
And set them in the firmament of heav'n,
To illuminate the earth, and rule the day
In their vicissitude, and rule the night,
And light from darkness to divide. GOD saw,
Surveying his great work, that it was good:
For of celestial bodies first the sun,
A mighty sphere, he fram'd, unlightsome first,
Though of ethereal mould: then form'd the moon
Globose, and every magnitude of stars,
And sow'd with stars the heav'n thick as a field.
Of light by far the greater part he took,
Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and plac'd
In the sun's orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gather'd beams, great palace now of light.
Hither, as to their fountain, other stars
Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
And hence the morning planet gilds her horns:
By tincture or reflection they augment

358 *sow'd*] Spens. Hymn to Heav. Beauty. v. 53.
'All *sow'd* with glistering *stars, more thick than grass.*'
Todd.

362 *liquid*] Lucret. lib. v. 282.
'Largus item *liquidi* fons *luminis*, æthereus sol.' *Newton.*

366 *her*] In the first ed. 'his horns,' which Fenton and Bentley follow.

Their small peculiar, though from human sight
So far remote, with diminution seen.
First in his east the glorious lamp was seen,
Regent of day, and all th' horizon round
Invested with bright rays, jocond to run
His longitude through heav'n's high road: the gray
Dawn and the Pleiades before him danc'd,
Shedding sweet influence. Less bright the moon,
But opposite in level'd west was set
His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him, for other light she needed none
In that aspect; and still that distance keeps
Till night, then in the east her turn she shines,
Revolv'd on heav'n's great axle, and her reign
With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
With thousand thousand stars, that then appear'd
Spangling the hemisphere: then first adorn'd

373 *gray*] See Carew's Poems, p. 60, 12mo.
'The yellow planets, and the *gray*
Dawn, shall attend thee on thy way.' *Todd.*

374 *Pleiades*] Phosphoros. *Bentl. MS.*

375 *sweet*] P. Fletcher's Locusts, p. 40.
'There every *starre sheds his sweet influence.*' *Todd.*

376 *opposite*] v. Adamus Exul of Grotius, p. 20.
'Sed Luna, noctis domina, fraternum sibi
Furata lumen, splendet alienâ face:
Cumque alma Phœbe solis opposita viæ
Regione vadit, lumen adversum bibit.'

383 *thousand stars*]
'Rutilantia corpora mille,
Mille oculos, mille igniculos intexit olympo.'
A. Rams. Poem. Sacr. i. p. 6.

With their bright luminaries, that set and rose,
Glad ev'ning and glad morn crown'd the fourth day.
And God said, Let the waters generate
Reptil with spawn abundant, living soul:
And let fowl fly above the earth, with wings
Display'd on the open firmament of heav'n.
And God created the great whales, and each
Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
The waters generated by their kinds,
And every bird of wing after his kind;
And saw that it was good, and bless'd them, saying,
Be fruitful, multiply, and in the seas,
And lakes, and running streams, the waters fill;
And let the fowl be multiply'd on the earth.
Forthwith the sounds and seas, each creek and bay,
With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals
Of fish, that with their fins and shining scales
Glide under the green wave, in sculls that oft
Bank the mid sea: part single, or with mate,
Graze the sea weed their pasture, and through groves
Of coral stray, or sporting with quick glance
Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold;
Or in their pearly shells at ease attend
Moist nutriment, or under rocks their food

402 *sculls*] See Hagthorpe's Divine Meditations, p. 39.
'The *sculls*, oh! Lord, of all the lakes and fountains,
The herdes are thine upon ten thousand mountains.'

407 *shells*] A. Rams. Poem Sacr. i. p. 8.
'Pars quoque tarda, hærens scopulis, sub cortice concha,
Pinnarumque, pedumque expers, depascit arenam.'

In jointed armour watch: on smooth the seal
And bended dolphins play; part huge of bulk,
Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
Tempest the ocean: there Leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
Stretch'd like a promontory sleeps, or swims
And seems a moving land, and at his gills
Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out a sea.
Mean while the tepid caves, and fens, and shores,
Their brood as numerous hatch from the egg, that
Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclos'd [soon
Their callow young; but feather'd soon and fledge,
They summ'd their pens, and soaring th' air sublime
With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud

409 *armour watch*] A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. i. 7.

——— non remige pinnâ
Sulcat aquas, munitâ latens sub tegmine testâ.'

410 *bended*] See Huet's Note to Manilius, v. 418. he gives near ten examples from the Latin Poets of this expression. 'Perpetuum hoc Delphinûm Epitheton.' v. Burm. ad Ovid. i. p. 269. 'Curvo Delphine.' Stat. Theb. i. 121. Also Fanshaw's Pastor Fido. p. 11.

'The crook-back'd dolphin loves in floods.'

416 *spouts*] Ov. Met. iii. 686.

'Et acceptum patulis *mare* naribus *efflant*.' *Newton.*

422 *clang*] See Stat. Theb. xii. 516, and Burman's Note to Ovid. Metam. xii. 528. See Orellius on Arnobius, vol. ii. p. 477. Tryphiodorus. v. 345. (Merrick's Transl.)

'Loud as th' embody'd cranes, a numerous throng
Driven by the stormy winter sail along,
While the faint ploughman, and the labouring swain
Curse the dire *clangor* of the noisy train.'

In prospect: there the eagle and the stork
On cliffs and cedar tops their eyries build:
Part loosely wing the region, part more wise
In common rang'd in figure wedge their way,
Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
Their aery caravan, high over seas
Flying, and over lands, with mutual wing
Easing their flight; so steers the prudent crane
Her annual voyage, borne on winds; the air
Floats, as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes.
From branch to branch the smaller birds with song
Solac'd the woods, and spread their painted wings
Till ev'n; nor then the solemn nightingale
Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays.
Others on silver lakes and rivers bath'd
Their downy breast; the swan, with arched neck

425 *region*] Spens. F. Q. iv. 8. 9. *Bentl. MS.*

430 *steers*] See Sir J. Davies on Dancing, p. 158. (1602.)

'Yet do the cranes deserve a greater praise,
Which keep such measure in their airy ways,
As when they all in order ranked are.'

431 *air*] See Æsch. Prom. v. 125.

ἀιθὴρ δ' ἐλαφραῖς
Πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς ὑποσυρίζει.' *Todd.*

434 *Solac'd*] Virg. Æn. vii. 32.

'Æthera *mulcebant* cantu.' *Todd.*

438 *swan*] See Donne's Poems, p. 297. (1633.)

'When goodly like a ship in her full trim,
A *swan* so white that you may unto him
Compare all whitenesse, but himself to none,
Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
And with his *arched neck* this poor fish catch'd,
It mov'd with state.'

Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
Her state with oary feet: yet oft they quit
The dank, and rising on stiff pennons tower
The mid aerial sky. Others on ground [sounds
Walk'd firm; the crested cock, whose clarion
The silent hours, and th' other, whose gay train
Adorns him, colour'd with the florid hue
Of rainbows and starry eyes. The waters thus
With fish replenish'd, and the air with fowl,
Ev'ning and morn solemniz'd the fifth day.
The sixth, and of creation last, arose
With ev'ning harps and matin, when GOD said,
Let the earth bring forth soul living in her kind,
Cattle and creeping things, and beast of the earth,
Each in their kind. The earth obey'd, and straight
Op'ning her fertile womb teem'd at a birth

440 *oary*] Sil. Ital. xiv. 190.

'Innatat albus *olor*, pronoque immobile corpus
Dat fluvio, et *pedibus* tacitas *eremigat* undas.'
Wakefield.

443 *crested cock*] See Martial. Epig. xiv. 223.

'*Cristatæque* sonant undique lucis aves.'

See Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 30.

'The *crested cock* sings "Hunt is up" to him.'

446 *starry eyes*] See Beaumont's Psyche, c. i. st. 61. v. 2.

'As when the gallant peacock doth display
His *starry* train.'

and A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. vol. i. p. 8.

'Dum tumet, et caudæ *stellatæ* syrmata spectat.'

451 *soul*] In Milton's own edition '*foul* living.' Bentley pointed out the error and corrected it.

452 *things*] Bentley and Newton consider that there is an error in the text, and that we ought to read 'thing.'

Innumerous living creatures, perfect forms,
Limb'd and full grown. Out of the ground up rose
As from his laire the wild beast, where he wonns
In forest wild, in thicket, brake, or den;
Among the trees in pairs they rose, they walk'd;
The cattle in the fields and meadows green:
Those rare and solitary, these in flocks
Pasturing at once, and in broad herds upsprung.
The grassy clods now calv'd, now half appear'd
The tawny lion, pawing to get free
His hinder parts, then springs as broke from bonds,
And rampant shakes his brinded mane; the ounce,

457 *wonns*] Fairfax's Tasso, b. xvi. st. 67.

'A thousand devils in Limbo deep that *wonne*.' *Todd.*

462 *broad*] Hom. Il. xi. 678.

——ἀιπόλια πλάτε' ἀιγῶν. *Richardson.*

463 *calv'd*] See Nonni Dionysiaca, iv. 427.

Καὶ στάχυς ἀυτολόχευτος ἀνηέξητο γιγάντων,
Ὧν ὃ μὲν ὑψικάρηνος ἀνέδραμεν ἄκρα τιταίνων
Στήθεος ἐυθώρηκος, ὃ δὲ προθορόντι καρήνω
Φρικτὸν ἀνοιγομένης ὑπερέσχεθεν ὦμον ἀρούρης·
Ἄλλος ἄνω πρόνυκυψεν ἐς ὄμφαλόν· ὃς δ' ἔπι γαῖη
Ἡμετελὴς ἀνέτελλε, πεδότρεφὲς ὅπλον ἀείρων·
Ἄλλος ὑπερκύπτοντα λόφον προβλῆτα τιταῖνων,
Οὔπω στέρνον ἔφαινε, καὶ ἔτι μήτρὸς ἀνέρπων
Ἐκ λαγόνων κατὰ βαιὸν ἀταρβέϊ μάρνατο Καδμῳ.

465 *broke*] Virg. Æn. xi. 492.

'Abruptis fugit præsepia vinclis.'

466 *shakes*] A. Ramsæi P. Sacr. vol. i. p. 9.

'Hinc Leo prædator, Lybicis nova incola campis,
Ore fremens, oculis scintillans, perque torosa
Colla jubas jactans.'—

The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole
Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw
In hillocks; the swift stag from under ground
Bore up his branching head; scarce from his mould
Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheav'd
His vastness: fleec'd the flocks and bleating rose,
As plants: ambiguous between sea and land
The river horse and scaly crocodile.
At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
Insect or worm; those wav'd their limber fans
For wings, and smallest lineaments exact
In all the liveries deck'd of summer's pride
With spots of gold and purple, azure and green:
These as a line their long dimension drew,
Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
Minims of nature; some of serpent kind,
Wondrous in length and corpulence, involv'd
Their snaky folds and added wings. First crept
The parsimonious emmet, provident
Of future, in small room large heart inclos'd,
Pattern of just equality perhaps
Hereafter, joined in her popular tribes
Of commonalty: swarming next appear'd
The female bee, that feeds her husband drone

484 *snaky folds*] A. Rams. P. Sacr. i. 10.

'Atque orbibus orbes
Implexos sinuantem anguem.'

485 *provident—large heart*] The former part from Hor. Sat. I. i. 35, and the latter from Virg. Georg. iv. 83. *Newton.*

Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells
With honey stor'd: the rest are numberless,
And thou their natures know'st, and gav'st them
Needless to thee repeated; nor unknown [names,
The serpent, subtlest beast of all the field,
Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes
And hairy mane terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.
Now heaven in all her glory shone, and roll'd
Her motions, as the great First Mover's hand
First wheel'd their course; earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovely smil'd; air, water, earth,
By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swum, was walk'd
Frequent; and of the sixth day yet remain'd;
There wanted yet the master work, the end
Of all yet done; a creature, who not prone
And brute as other creatures, but indu'd
With sanctity of reason, might erect
His stature, and upright with front serene
Govern the rest, self-knowing; and from thence

491 *waxen cells*] So Marino's Sl. of the Innocents, p. 28.

'Or when the bees, like murmuring armies, hide
The tops of flowers, where sweetest nectar flows,
And on their laden wings the odorous prey
In troops, unto their *waxen camp* convey.'

497 *hairy mane*] See Virg. Æn. ii. 206. Petronii Trojæ Elosis, v. 38. J. Obsequens de Prodigiis, p. 54. 'Angues jubati.' Plauti Amphitr. act. v. sc. i. 'Jubatus anguis major solitis.' Capitolin. Vit. Anton. Pii, ix. 35, ed Putman.

Magnanimous to correspond with heav'n;
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Descends, thither with heart, and voice, and eyes
Directed in devotion, to adore
And worship God supreme, who made him chief
Of all his works: therefore the omnipotent
Eternal Father, for where is not he
Present? thus to his Son audibly spake.
Let us make now man in our image, man
In our similitude, and let them rule
Over the fish and fowl of sea and air,
Beast of the field, and over all the earth,
And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.
This said, he form'd thee, Adam, thee, O man,
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of life: in his own image he
Created thee, in the image of God
Express, and thou becam'st a living soul.
Male he created thee, but thy consort
Female for race; then bless'd mankind, and said,
Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth,
Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
Over fish of the sea, and fowl of the air,
And every living thing that moves on the earth.
Wherever thus created, for no place
Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'st,

536 *thence*] Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley have adopted in this passage a wrong punctuation, putting only a comma after 'earth' (534), and a full stop after 'name' (536). Newton restored the reading of Milton's own editions.

He brought thee into this delicious grove,
This garden, planted with the trees of GOD,
Delectable both to behold and taste;
And freely all their pleasant fruit for food
Gave thee, all sorts are here that all th' earth yields,
Variety without end; but of the tree,
Which tasted works knowledge of good and evil,
Thou may'st not: in the day thou eat'st thou dy'st;
Death is the penalty impos'd, beware,
And govern well thy appetite, lest sin
Surprize thee, and her black attendant death.
Here finish'd he, and all that he had made
View'd, and behold all was entirely good;
So ev'n and morn accomplish'd the sixth day:
Yet not, till the Creator from his work
Desisting, though unwearied, up return'd,
Up to the heav'n of heav'ns his high abode,
Thence to behold this new-created world,
Th' addition of his empire, how it show'd
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
Answering his great idea. Up he rode,
Follow'd with acclamation and the sound
Symphonious of ten thousand harps, that tun'd
Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air
Resounded, thou remember'st, for thou heard'st;
The heav'ns and all the constellations rung,
The planets in their station list'ning stood,
While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.
Open, ye everlasting gates, they sung,
Open, ye heavens, your living doors; let in

The great Creator, from his work return'd
Magnificent, his six days work, a world:
Open, and henceforth oft; for GOD will deign
To visit oft the dwellings of just men
Delighted, and with frequent intercourse
Thither will send his winged messengers
On errands of supernal grace. · So sung
The glorious train ascending: He through heav'n,
That open'd wide her blazing portals, led
To GOD's eternal house direct the way,
A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear
Seen in the galaxy, that milky way
Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest
Powder'd with stars. And now on earth the seventh
Ev'ning arose in Eden, for the sun
Was set, and twilight from the east came on,
Forerunning night; when at the holy mount
Of heav'n's high seated top, th' imperial throne
Of Godhead, fix'd for ever firm and sure,
The Filial Power arriv'd, and sat him down
With his great Father; for he also went
Invisible, yet stay'd, such privilege
Hath Omnipresence, and the work ordain'd,
Author and end of all things, and from work
Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the seventh day,
As resting on that day from all his work,
But not in silence holy kept; the harp

581 *Powder'd*] Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 76.
' *Powdred with stars* streaming with glorious light.' *Todd*

Had work, and rested not; the solemn pipe
And dulcimer, all organs of sweet stop,
All sounds on fret by string or golden wire,
Temper'd soft tunings, intermix'd with voice
Choral or unison: of incense clouds
Fuming from golden censers hid the mount.
Creation and the six days acts they sung,
Great are thy works, Jehovah, infinite [tongue
Thy power; what thought can measure thee, or
Relate thee? greater now in thy return
Than from the giant angels; thee that day
Thy thunders magnified; but to create
Is greater than created to destroy.
Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
Thy empire? easily the proud attempt
Of spirits apostate and their counsels vain
Thou hast repell'd, while impiously they thought
Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
The number of thy worshippers. Who seeks
To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
To manifest the more thy might: his evil
Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
Witness this new-made world, another heav'n
From heaven gate not far, founded in view
On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea;
Of amplitude almost immense, with stars
Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
Of destin'd habitation; but thou know'st
Their seasons: among these the seat of men,
Earth, with her nether ocean circumfus'd,

Their pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happy men,
And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc'd,
Created in his image, there to dwell
And worship him; and in reward to rule
Over his works, on earth, in sea, or air,
And multiply a race of worshippers
Holy and just: thrice happy, if they know
Their happiness, and persevere upright.
So sung they, and the empyrean rung
With Hallelujahs: thus was Sabbath kept.
And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd
How first this world and face of things began,
And what before thy memory was done
From the beginning, that posterity
Inform'd by thee might know. If else thou seek'st
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

ADAM inquires concerning celestial motions, is doubtfully answer'd, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge. Adam assents; and still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remember'd since his own creation; his placing in Paradise; his talk with GOD concerning solitude and fit society; his first meeting and nuptials with Eve; his discourse with the angel thereupon; who, after admonitions repeated, departs.

THE angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear:
Then, as new wak'd, thus gratefully replied.
What thanks sufficient, or what recompence
Equal, have I to render thee, divine
Historian? who thus largely hast allay'd

[1] *The angel*] In the first edition of this Poem in ten books, here was only this line,

To whom thus Adam gratefully replied.

This would have been too abrupt a beginning for a new book. *Newton.*

[5] *What thanks*] See Beaumont's Psyche, c. xii. st. 171.

'My soule's sweet friend, *what thanks* can I repay
For all this honey which thy tongue hath shed.'

The thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsaf'd
This friendly condescension to relate
Things else by me unsearchable, now heard
With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
With glory attributed to the high
Creator: something yet of doubt remains,
Which only thy solution can resolve.
When I behold this goodly frame, this world,
Of heav'n and earth consisting, and compute
Their magnitudes, this earth a spot, a grain,
An atom, with the firmament compar'd
And all her number'd stars, that seem to roll
Spaces incomprehensible, for such
Their distance argues, and their swift return
Diurnal, merely to officiate light
Round this opacous earth, this punctual spot,
One day and night, in all their vast survey
Useless besides; reasoning I oft admire,
How nature wise and frugal could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler bodies to create,
Greater so manifold, to this one use,
For aught appears, and on their orbs impose
Such restless revolution day by day

[8] *The thirst*] See Dante Il Purgator. c. xviii. ver. 4.

' Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,
Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea.'

[9] *condescension*] Conversation, ver. 649. *Bentl. MS.*

[11] *solution*] Decision. *Bentl. MS.*

[14] *goodly*] Hamlet, act ii. scene ii.

' This goodly frame the Earth.'

Repeated, while the sedentary earth,
That better might with far less compass move,
Served by more noble than herself, attains
Her end without least motion, and receives,
As tribute, such a sumless journey brought
Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light;
Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails.
So spake our sire, and by his count'nance seem'd
Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which Eve
Perceiving where she sat retir'd in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flow'rs,
To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom,
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And touch'd by her fair tendance gladlier grew.
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high: such pleasure she reserv'd,
Adam relating, she sole auditress;
Her husband the relater she preferr'd
Before the angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix

[46] *sprung*] So Marino Adon. c. iii. st. 65, and c. vi. st. 146.

'Tutto al venir d'Adon par che ridenti
Rivesta il bel giardin novi colori.' *Thyer.*

[53] *to ask*] In accordance with St. Paul, Corinth. i. xiv. 35. 'And if they (women) will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home.'

Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal caresses, from his lip
Not words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
Such pairs, in love and mutual honour join'd?
With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went;
Not unattended, for on her as queen
A pomp of winning graces waited still,
And from about her shot darts of desire
Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.
And Raphael now to Adam's doubt propos'd
Benevolent and facile thus replied.

To ask or search I blame thee not, for heav'n
Is as the book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years.
This to attain, whether heav'n move or earth,
Imports not, if thou reckon right; the rest
From man or angel the great Architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets to be scann'd by them who ought
Rather admire; or if they list to try

55 *solve*] 'Sic ait, ac mediis interserit oscula verbis.
Ovid. Met. x. 559.
and Epist. xiii. ver. 119, ed. Burm. vol. i. p. 180.
'Quæ mihi dum referes, quamvis audire juvabit;
Multa tamen capies oscula, multa dabis.
Semper in his apte narrantia verba resistunt.
Promtior est dulci lingua retenta mora.'

62 *shot*] See Greene's Never too late, P. act 2. (1616.)
'His bow of steele, *darts* of fire
He *shot* amongst them sweet *desire*.'

Conjecture, he his fabric of the heav'ns
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model heav'n
And calculate the stars, how they will wield
The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive,
To save appearances; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.
Already by thy reasoning this I guess,
Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest,
That bodies bright and greater should not serve
The less not bright, nor heav'n such journeys run,
Earth sitting still, when she alone receives
The benefit. Consider first, that great
Or bright infers not excellence: the earth
Though, in comparison of heav'n, so small,
Nor glistering, may of solid good contain
More plenty than the sun, that barren shines,
Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
But in the fruitful earth: there first receiv'd

79 *when*] Manilii Astr. iv. 158.

'Inveniunt et in astra vias, numerisque modisque
Consummant orbem,'———

83 *eccentric*] See Dekker's If this be not a good Play the Devil is in it, p. 43. 'In gibberish no man understands of quartiles, aspects, centricall, eccentrical, cosmial, acronicall,' &c.; and Lisle's Du Bartas, 174. 'Concentrike, excentricke, epicycle, apogee.' Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 140—142.

His beams, unactive else, their vigour find.
Yet not to earth are those bright luminaries
Officious, but to thee earth's habitant.
And for the heav'ns wide circuit, let it speak
The Maker's high magnificence, who built
So spacious, and his line stretch'd out so far;
That man may know he dwells not in his own;
An edifice too large for him to fill,
Lodg'd in a small partition, and the rest
Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.
The swiftness of those circles attribute,
Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could add
Speed almost spiritual: me thou think'st not slow,
Who since the morning hour set out from heav'n
Where GOD resides, and ere mid day arriv'd
In Eden, distance inexpressible
By numbers that have name. But this I urge,
Admitting motion in the heav'ns, to show
Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd;
Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
To thee who hast thy dwelling here on earth.
GOD, to remove his ways from human sense,
Plac'd heav'n from earth so far, that earthly sight,
If it presume, might err in things too high,
And no advantage gain. What if the sun
Be center to the world, and other stars,
By his attractive virtue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds?

Their wand'ring course now high, now low, then hid,
Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
In six thou seest; and what if sev'nth to these
The planet earth, so steadfast though she seem,
Insensibly three different motions move?
Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe,
Mov'd contrary with thwart obliquities,
Or save the sun his labour, and that swift
Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb suppos'd,
Invisible else above all stars, the wheel
Of day and night; which needs not thy belief,
If earth industrious of her self fetch day
Travelling east, and with her part averse
From the sun's beam meet night, her other part
Still luminous by his ray. What if that light,
Sent from her through the wide transpicuous air,
To the terrestrial moon be as a star
Enlight'ning her by day, as she by night
This earth? reciprocal, if land be there,
Fields and inhabitants: her spots thou seest
As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
Fruits in her soften'd soil, for some to eat
Allotted there; and other suns perhaps
With their attendant moons thou wilt descry,
Communicating male and female light,
Which two great sexes animate the world,
Stor'd in each orb perhaps with some that live.
For such vast room in nature unpossess'd
By living soul, desert and desolate,

Only to shine, yet scarce to contribute
Each orb a glimpse of light, convey'd so far
Down to this habitable, which returns
Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.
But whether thus these things, or whether not,
Whether the sun predominant in heav'n
Rise on the earth, or earth rise on the sun,
He from the east his flaming road begin,
Or she from west her silent course advance
With inoffensive pace, that spinning sleeps
On her soft axle, while she paces ev'n,
And bears thee soft with the smooth air along,
Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him serve and fear:
Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
Wherever plac'd, let him dispose: joy thou
In what he gives to thee, this paradise
And thy fair Eve; heav'n is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise:
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what state, condition, or degree,
Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
Not of earth only, but of highest heav'n.

To whom thus Adam, clear'd of doubt, reply'd.

155 *cóntribute*] With the same accentuation in May's Edw. III. lib. iii.

'Must cóntribute to Philip's overthrow.' *Todd.*

162 *flaming*] Perhaps Milton had in mind the ἀντολὰς φλογῶπας ἡλιοστιβεῖς in the Prometheus of Æschylus, verse 816. *A. Dyce.*

How fully hast thou satisfy'd me, pure
Intelligence of heav'n, angel serene,
And freed from intricacies, taught to live
The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the sweet of life, from which
God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
And not molest us, unless we our selves [vain
Seek them with wand'ring thoughts, and notions
But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom; what is more, is fume,
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,
And renders us in things that most concern
Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
Useful, whence haply mention may arise
Of something not unseasonable to ask
By sufferance, and thy wonted favour deign'd.
Thee I have heard relating what was done
Ere my remembrance: now hear me relate
My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard;
And day is not yet spent; till then thou seest
How subtly to detain thee I devise,
Inviting thee to hear while I relate,
Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply:

For while I sit with thee, I seem in heav'n,
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
Than fruits of palm-tree pleasantest to thirst
And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
Of sweet repast: they satiate, and soon fill,
Though pleasant; but thy words, with grace divine
Imbu'd, bring to their sweetness no satiety.

To whom thus Raphael answer'd heav'nly meek.
Nor are thy lips ungraceful, sire of men,
Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee
Abundantly his gifts hath also pour'd
Inward and outward both, his image fair:
Speaking or mute all comeliness and grace
Attends thee, and each word, each motion forms.
Nor less think we in heav'n of thee on earth,
Than of our fellow servant, and inquire
Gladly into the ways of God with man:
For God we see hath honour'd thee, and set
On man his equal love. Say therefore on;
For I that day was absent, as befell,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion toward the gates of hell,
Squar'd in full legion, such command we had,

211 *sweeter*] Stillingfleet refers to Homer's Od. iv. 694, and Newton to Virg. Ecl. v. 45.

216 *bring*] See Dante Il Purgator. c. xxxi. v. 128.

'L' anima mia gustava di quel cibo,
Che saziando di se di se asseta.'

229 *For I*] How then could he relate the creation? *Bentl. MS.*

To see that none thence issu'd forth a spy,
Or enemy, while GOD was in his work,
Lest he, incens'd at such eruption bold,
Destruction with creation might have mix'd.
Not that they durst without his leave attempt,
But us he sends upon his high behests
For state, as Sov'reign King, and to enure
Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut
The dismal gates, and barricado'd strong;
But long ere our approaching heard within
Noise, other than the sound of dance or song,
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
Glad we return'd up to the coasts of light
Ere sabbath ev'ning: so we had in charge.
But thy relation now; for I attend,
Pleas'd with thy words, no less than thou with mine.
So spake the godlike Power, and thus our sire.
For man to tell how human life began
Is hard; for who him self beginning knew?
Desire with thee still longer to converse
Induc'd me. As new wak'd from soundest sleep
Soft on the flow'ry herb I found me laid,
In balmy sweat, which with his beams the sun
Soon dry'd, and on the reeking moisture fed.
Straight toward heav'n my wond'ring eyes I turn'd,
And gaz'd a while the ample sky, till rais'd
By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
As thitherward endeavouring, and upright
Stood on my feet? about me round I saw

[258] *ample*] at th' azure. *Bentl. MS.*

Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams; by these
Creatures that liv'd, and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew:
Birds on the branches warbling; all things smil'd,
With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.
My self I then perus'd, and limb by limb
Survey'd, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
With supple joints, as lively vigour led:
But who I was, or where, or from what cause,
Knew not: to speak I try'd, and forthwith spake;
My tongue obey'd, and readily could name
Whate'er I saw. Thou sun, said I, fair light,
And thou enlighten'd earth, so fresh and gay,
Ye hills and dales, ye rivers, woods, and plains,
And ye that live and move, fair creatures, tell,
Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here?
Not of my self, by some great Maker then,
In goodness and in power pre-eminent:

263 *liquid lapse*] 'Prope fontis adlapsum.' v. Apulei Metam. v. p. 141. ed. Delph.

265 *smil'd*] Tonson's ed. 1727, prints the passage thus,

'———— all things smil'd
With fragrance; and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.'

Bentley's edition and others followed the same punctuation: but Milton's own edition does not support it.

269 *as*] the second edition reads 'and lively,' which Newton conceives to be an error of the press.

272 *name*] Warburton has pointed out a contradiction between this passage and ver. 352. In the first, Adam says he could name what he saw *before* he got into Paradise: in the latter, that God gave him the ability when the beasts came to him *in* Paradise.

Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,
From whom I have that thus I move and live,
And feel that I am happier than I know.
While thus I call'd, and stray'd I knew not whither,
From where I first drew air, and first beheld
This happy light, when answer none return'd,
On a green shady bank profuse of flow'rs
Pensive I sat me down; there gentle sleep
First found me, and with soft oppression seiz'd
My droused sense, untroubled, though I thought
I then was passing to my former state
Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve:
When suddenly stood at my head a dream,
Whose inward apparition gently mov'd
My fancy to believe I yet had being,
And liv'd: one came, methought, of shape divine,
And said, Thy mansion wants thee, Adam, rise,
First man, of men innumerable ordain'd
First father, call'd by thee, I come thy guide
To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepar'd.
So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd,
And over fields and waters, as in air
Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
A woody mountain; whose high top was plain,
A circuit wide, enclos'd, with goodliest trees
Planted, with walks, and bowers, that what I saw
Of earth before scarce pleasant seem'd. Each tree
Loaden with fairest fruit, that hung to the eye
Tempting, stirr'd in me sudden appetite
To pluck and eat; whereat I wak'd, and found

Before mine eyes all real, as the dream
Had lively shadow'd: here had new begun
My wand'ring, had not he, who was my guide
Up hither, from among the trees appear'd,
Presence Divine. Rejoicing, but with awe,
In adoration at his feet I fell
Submiss: He rear'd me, and, whom thou sought'st I am,
Said mildly, author of all this thou seest
Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
This paradise I give thee, count it thine
To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat:
Of every tree that in the garden grows
Eat freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:
But of the Tree whose operation brings
Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set
The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith
Amid the garden by the Tree of Life,
Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
And shun the bitter consequence: for know,
The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
Transgrest, inevitably thou shalt die;
From that day mortal, and this happy state
Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
Of woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
The rigid interdiction, which resounds
Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice
Not to incur; but soon his clear aspect

[332] *world*] See Chapman's Hom. Il. p. 215. 'Brought us Worlds of Woe.'

Return'd and gracious purpose thus renew'd.
Not only these fair bounds, but all the earth
To thee and to thy race I give; as lords
Possess it, and all things that therein live,
Or live in sea, or air, beast, fish, and fowl.
In sign whereof each bird and beast behold
After their kinds; I bring them to receive
From thee their names, and pay thee fealty
With low subjection; understand the same
Of fish within their wat'ry residence,
Not hither summon'd since they cannot change
Their element to draw the thinner air.
As thus he spake, each bird and beast behold
Approaching two and two; these cow'ring low
With blandishment, each bird stoop'd on his wing.
I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood
Their nature, with such knowledge GOD indu'd
My sudden apprehension: but in these
I found not what me thought I wanted still;
And to the heav'nly vision thus presum'd.

O by what name, for thou above all these,
Above mankind, or aught than mankind higher,
Surpassest far my naming, how may I
Adore thee, Author of this universe,
And all this good to man, for whose well being
So amply, and with hands so liberal,
Thou hast provided all things? but with me
I see not who partakes. In solitude
What happiness, who can enjoy alone,
Or all enjoying what contentment find?

Thus I presumptuous; and the vision bright,
As with a smile more brighten'd, thus reply'd.
What call'st thou solitude? Is not the earth
With various living creatures and the air
Replenish'd, and all these at thy command
To come and play before thee? Know'st thou not
Their language and their ways? They also know,
And reason not contemptibly; with these
Find pastime, and bear rule; thy realm is large.
So spake the universal Lord, and seem'd
So ordering. I, with leave of speech implor'd,
And humble deprecation, thus reply'd.
Let not my words offend thee, heav'nly Power,
My Maker, be propitious while I speak.
Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
And these inferior far beneath me set?
Among unequals what society
Can sort, what harmony, or true delight?
Which must be mutual, in proportion due,
Giv'n and receiv'd; but in disparity,
The one intense, the other still remiss,
Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
Tedious alike: of fellowship I speak
Such as I seek, fit to participate
All rational delight, wherein the brute
Cannot be human consort: they rejoice
Each with their kind, lion with lioness;
So fitly them in pairs thou hast combin'd;
Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl,

So well converse, nor with the ox the ape;
Worse then can man with beast, and least of all.
Whereto th' Almighty answer'd, not displeas'd.
A nice and subtile happiness I see
Thou to thyself proposest, in the choice
Of thy associates, Adam, and wilt taste
No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitary.
What think'st thou then of me, and this my state?
Seem I to thee sufficiently possest
Of happiness, or not? who am alone
From all eternity; for none I know
Second to me or like, equal much less.
How have I then with whom to hold converse,
Save with the creatures which I made, and those
To me inferior, infinite descents
Beneath what other creatures are to thee?
He ceas'd, I lowly answer'd. To attain
The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things;
Thou in thy self art perfect, and in thee
Is no deficience found: not so is man,
But in degree, the cause of his desire
By conversation with his like to help,
Or solace his defects. No need that thou
Should'st propagate, already infinite,
And through all numbers absolute, though one.
But man by number is to manifest
His single imperfection, and beget

407 *Second*] Hor. Od. i. xii. 18.

' Nec viget quidquam simile, aut secundum.' *Newton.*

Like of his like, his image multiply'd,
In unity defective, which requires
Collateral love, and dearest amity.
Thou in thy secrecy although alone,
Best with thy self accompany'd, seek'st not
Social communication; yet so pleas'd
Canst raise thy creature to what highth thou wilt
Of union or communion, deify'd;
I by conversing cannot these erect
From prone, nor in their ways complacence find.
Thus I embolden'd spake, and freedom us'd
Permissive, and acceptance found; which gain'd
This answer from the gracious Voice Divine.

Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
And find thee knowing not of beasts alone,
Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thy self,
Expressing well the spirit within thee free,
My image, not imparted to the brute;
Whose fellowship therefore unmeet for thee
Good reason was thou freely should'st dislike,
And be so minded still: I, ere thou spak'st,
Knew it not good for man to be alone,
And no such company as then thou saw'st
Intended thee, for trial only brought,
To see how thou could'st judge of fit and meet.
What next I bring shall please thee, be assur'd,
Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,
Thy wish exactly to thy heart's desire.

He ended, or I heard no more; for now
My earthly by his heav'nly overpower'd,

Which it had long stood under, strain'd to the highth
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
As with an object that excels the sense,
Dazzled, and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
By nature as in aid, and clos'd mine eyes.
Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell
Of fancy my internal sight, by which
Abstract as in a trance me thought I saw,
Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
Still glorious before whom awake I stood;
Who stooping open'd my left side, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd.
The rib he form'd and fashion'd with his hands;
Under his forming hands a creature grew
Manlike, but different sex, so lovely fair,
That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd
And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before,
And into all things from her air inspir'd
The spirit of love and amorous delight.
She disappear'd, and left me dark, I wak'd
To find her, or for ever to deplore

463 *the shape*] the same. *Bentl. MS.*

475 *unfelt*] Fairfax's Tasso, xix. 94.

'A sweetness strange from that sweet voice's sound
Pierced my heart.' *Bowle.*

Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure.
When out of hope, behold her, not far off,
Such as I saw her in my dream, adorn'd
With what all earth or heaven could bestow
To make her amiable: on she came,
Led by her heav'nly Maker, though unseen,
And guided by his voice, nor uninform'd
Of nuptial sanctity and marriage rites:
Grace was in all her steps, heav'n in her eye,
In every gesture dignity and love.
I overjoy'd could not forbear aloud.

This turn hath made amends; thou hast fulfill'd
Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,
Giver of all things fair, but fairest this
Of all thy gifts, nor enviest. I now see
Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh, my self
Before me; woman is her name, of man
Extracted; for this cause he shall forego
Father and mother, and to his wife adhere;
And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.

She heard me thus, and though divinely brought,
Yet innocence and virgin modesty,
Her virtue and the conscience of her worth,
That would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,
Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,

488 *heav'n*] Fletcher's Philaster, act iii. scene 1.
'How *Heaven* is in your *eyes*.' *Todd.*

502 *conscience*] For consciousness. So Cic. de Senectute: '*Conscientia* bene actæ vitæ jucundissima est,' and in the English version of the Bible, Heb. x. 2. 'Should have no more *conscience* of sins.' *Peurce.*

The more desirable, or, to say all,
Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought,
Wrought in her so, that seeing me she turn'd;
I follow'd her, she what was honour knew,
And with obsequious majesty approv'd
My pleaded reason. To the nuptial bow'r
I led her blushing like the morn: all heav'n,
And happy constellations on that hour
Shed their selectest influence; the earth
Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill;
Joyous the birds; fresh gales and gentle airs
Whisper'd it to the woods, and from their wings
Flung rose, flung odours from the spicy shrub,
Disporting, till the amorous bird of night
Sung spousal, and bid haste the ev'ning star
On his hill top to light the bridal lamp.

Thus I have told thee all my state, and brought
My story to the sum of earthly bliss,
Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As, us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire; these delicacies [flow'rs,
I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and
Walks, and the melody of birds: but here
Far otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch; here passion first I felt,

511 *blushing*] Fletcher's F. Shepherd, act. i. scene 1.

——— 'O you are fairer far
Than the chaste *blushing morn.*' *Todd.*

515 *birds*] Herds. *Bentl. MS.*

Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmov'd, here only weak
Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance.
Or nature fail'd in me, and left some part
Not proof enough such object to sustain,
Or from my side subducting took perhaps
More than enough; at least on her bestow'd
Too much of ornament, in outward show
Elaborate, of inward less exact.
For well I understand in the prime end
Of nature her th' inferior, in the mind
And inward faculties, which most excel,
In outward also her resembling less
His image who made both, and less expressing
The character of that dominion giv'n
O'er other creatures: yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
And in her self complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discountenanc'd, and like folly shows:
Authority and reason on her wait,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and, to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic plac'd.

553 *Loses discountenanc'd*] 'Looks disconcerted.' *Bentl. MS.*

To whom the angel with contracted brow.
Accuse not nature, she hath done her part;
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
Of wisdom she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,
By attributing overmuch to things
Less excellent, as thou thyself perceiv'st.
For what admir'st thou, what transports thee so?
An outside? fair no doubt, and worthy well
Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,
Not thy subjection: weigh with her thyself;
Then value: oft times nothing profits more
Than self esteem, grounded on just and right
Well manag'd: of that skill the more thou know'st,
The more she will acknowledge thee her head,
And to realities yield all her shows;
Made so adorn for thy delight the more,
So awful, that with honour thou may'st love
Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise.
But if the sense of touch whereby mankind
Is propagated seem such dear delight
Beyond all other, think the same vouchsaf'd
To cattel and each beast; which would not be

560 *contracted brow*]

'To whom the angel, whose severer brow
Sent forth a frown.'———

See Quarles' Divine Poems, p. 250; and Shepherd's Oracle, p. 60.

576 *adorn*] v. Spens. F. Qu. iii. xii. 20.

'Without *adorne* of gold, or silver bright.' *Bowle*

To them made common and divulg'd, if aught
Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue
The soul of man, or passion in him move.
What higher in her society thou find'st
Attractive, human, rational, love still:
In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
Wherein true love consists not: love refines
The thoughts, and heart enlarges; hath his seat
In reason, and is judicious; is the scale
By which to heav'nly love thou may'st ascend,
Not sunk in carnal pleasure; for which cause
Among the beasts no mate for thee was found.
To whom thus half abash'd Adam reply'd.
Neither her outside form'd so fair, nor aught
In procreation common to all kinds,
Though higher of the genial bed by far
And with mysterious reverence I deem,
So much delights me, as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions, mix'd with love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union of mind, or in us both one soul;
Harmony to behold in wedded pair
More grateful than harmonious sound to the ear.
Yet these subject not; I to thee disclose
What inward thence I feel, not therefore foil'd,
Who meet with various objects, from the sense

598 *genial bed*] 'Genialis Lectuli.' Arnob. lib. iv. c. 20. Apuleius de Asino. 'Fœdus thori genialis. v. Orellium ad Arnob. vol. ii. p. 219.

Variously representing; yet still free
Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
To love thou blam'st me not, for love thou say'st
Leads up to heav'n, is both the way and guide;
Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask:
Love not the heav'nly spirits, and how their love
Express they, by looks only, or do they mix
Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?
To whom the angel with a smile that glow'd
Celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,
Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st
Us happy, and without love no happiness.
Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st,
And pure thou wert created, we enjoy
In eminence, and obstacle find none
Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars:
Easier than air with air, if spirits embrace,
Total they mix, union of pure with pure
Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance need
As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.
But I can now no more; the parting sun
Beyond the earth's green Cape and Verdant Isles,
Hesperean sets, my signal to depart.
Be strong, live happy, and love, but first of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed lest passion sway
Thy judgment to do aught, which else free will

621 *green Cape*] See Lisle's Dubartas, p. 94.

'Thrusts out the Cape of Fesse, the *green Cape* and the white.'

Would not admit; thine and of all thy sons
The weal or woe in thee is plac'd; beware.
I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
And all the blest: stand fast; to stand or fall
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies;
Perfect within, no outward aid require,
And all temptation to transgress repel.
So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus
Follow'd with benediction. Since to part,
Go, heavenly guest, ethereal messenger,
Sent from whose sov'reign goodness I adore.
Gentle to me and affable hath been
Thy condescension, and shall be honour'd ever
With grateful memory: thou to mankind
Be good and friendly still, and oft return.
So parted they, the angel up to heav'n
From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.

637 *admit*] Used in the Latin sense, as in Ter. Heaut. act v. sc. ii. 'Quid ego tantum sceleris *admisi* miser? *Newton.*

641 *Free*] See Dante Il Purgat. c. xxvii. v. 127.

'Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno.
Libero, dritto, e sano è tuo arbitrio;
E fallo fora non fare a suo senno.'

653 *bower*] Compare the parting of Jupiter and Thetis in Hom. Il. i. 532.

—ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα
Εἰς ἅλα ἅλτο βαθεῖαν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου,
Ζεὺς δὲ εἰὸν πρὸς δῶμα. *Todd.*

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX.

THE ARGUMENT.

SATAN having compassed the earth, with meditated guile returns as a mist by night into Paradise, and enters into the serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart: Adam consents not, alleging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they were forewarned, should attempt her found alone: Eve, loth to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial of her strength: Adam at last yields: the serpent finds her alone; his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking, with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures. Eve, wondering to hear the serpent speak, asks how he attained to human speech and such understanding not till now; the serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain tree in the garden he attained both to speech and reason, till then void of both: Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the Tree of Knowledge forbidden; the serpent, now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her at length to eat: she, pleased with the taste, deliberates a while whether to impart thereof to Adam, or not; at last brings him of the fruit, relates what persuaded her to eat thereof: Adam at first amazed, but perceiving her lost, resolves, through vehemence of love, to perish with her, and extenuating the trespass eats also of the fruit: the effects thereof in them both: they seek to cover their nakedness: then fall to variance and accusation of one another.

No more of talk where God or Angel guest
With man, as with his friend, familiar us'd
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast, permitting him the while
Venial discourse unblam'd: I now must change
Those notes to tragic; foul distrust, and breach
Disloyal on the part of man, revolt,
And disobedience: on the part of heav'n
Now alienated, distance and distaste,
Anger, and just rebuke, and judgment giv'n,
That brought into this world a world of woe;
Sin and her shadow death, and misery
Death's harbinger: sad task, yet argument
Not less but more heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursu'd
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd,
Or Neptune's ire or Juno's, that so long
Perplex'd the Greek and Cytherea's son:
If answerable style I can obtain
Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
And dictates to me slumb'ring, or inspires

[11] *world*] Atterbury proposed reading

'That brought into this world (a world of woe),'

but such is not Milton's manner.

[11] *a world of woe*] See Davison's Poetical Rhapsody, ii. 178. ed. 1826.

'a private hell, a very world of woe.'

Easy my unpremeditated verse:
Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleas'd me, long choosing and beginning late;
Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deem'd, chief mast'ry to dissect
With long and tedious havock fabled knights
In battels feign'd; the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung; or to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, emblazon'd shields,
Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds;
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament; then marshal'd feast
Serv'd up in hall with sewers, and seneshals;
The skill of artifice or office mean,
Not that which justly gives heroic name
To person or to poem. Me of these
Nor skill'd nor studious higher argument
Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depress'd, and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear.
The sun was sunk, and after him the star

[41] *of these*] The construction adopted by Milton occurs in Harrington's Ariosto, c. iv. st. 42.

'As holy men *of* humane manners *skill'd*.' *Todd.*

[45] *years*] Grief, want, wars, clime, or say, years. *Bentl. MS.*

Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
Twilight upon the earth, short arbiter
Twixt day and night, and now from end to end
Night's hemisphere had veil'd the horizon round:
When Satan who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd
In meditated fraud and malice, bent
On man's destruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himself, fearless return'd.
By night he fled, and at midnight return'd
From compassing the earth, cautious of day,
Since Uriel regent of the sun descry'd
His entrance, and forewarn'd the Cherubim
That kept their watch; thence full of anguish driv'n,
The space of seven continu'd nights he rode
With darkness, thrice the equinoctial line
He circled, four times cross'd the car of night
From pole to pole, traversing each colure;
On the eighth return'd, and on the coast averse
From entrance or Cherubic watch by stealth

50 *arbiter*] Sydney, in his Arcadia, calls the sun, about the time of the Equinox,

'An indifferent *arbiter* between the *night and the day*.' *Newton.*

59 *compassing*] Sylv. Du Bartas, p. 896, of Satan,

'I come, said he, from walking in, and out,
And *compassing* the earthlie ball about. *Todd.*

56 *colure*] See Lisle's Du Bartas, p. 155.

'The second is, and call'd the nigh equall *colure*.'

Found unsuspected way. There was a place,
Now not, though sin, not time, first wrought the change,
Where Tigris at the foot of paradise
Into a gulf shot under ground, till part
Rose up a fountain by the Tree of Life:
In with the river sunk, and with it rose
Satan involv'd in rising mist, then sought
Where to lie hid! sea he had search'd and land
From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob;
Downward as far Antarctick; and in length
West from Orontes to the ocean barr'd
At Darien; thence to the land where flows
Ganges and Indus: thus the orb he roam'd
With narrow search; and with inspection deep
Consider'd every creature, which of all
Most opportune might serve his wiles, and found
The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.
Him after long debate, irresolute
Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose
Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
From sharpest sight: for in the wily snake
Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
As from his wit and native subtlety
Proceeding, which in other beasts observ'd

75 *mist*] Hom. Il. i. 359, *ἀνέδυ πολιῆς ἁλος, ἠΰτ' ὀμιχλή*, and Hymn Mercur. v. 141. *Newton.*

80 *Orontes*] Euphrates. *Bentl. MS.*

Doubt might beget of diabolic pow'r
Active within beyond the sense of brute.
Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd.
O earth, how like to heav'n, if not preferr'd
More justly, seat worthier of gods, as built
With second thoughts, reforming what was old!
For what God after better worse would build?
Terrestrial heav'n, danc'd round by other heav'ns
That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
Light above light, for thee alone, as seems,
In thee concentring all their precious beams
Of sacred influence. As God in heav'n
Is center, yet extends to all, so thou
Centring receiv'st from all those orbs: in thee,
Not in themselves, all their known virtue appears
Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
Of creatures animate with gradual life
Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in man.
With what delight could I have walk'd thee round,
If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
Of hill and valley, rivers, woods, and plains,
Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crown'd,
Rocks, dens, and caves! but I in none of these
Find place or refuge; and the more I see
Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
Torment within me, as from the hateful siege

[99] *earth*] Consult Heylin's note on this passage; who considers that there is an inconsistency between this speech of Satan and b. iii. 566.

Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in heav'n much worse would be my state.
But neither here seek I, no nor in heav'n
To dwell, unless by mast'ring heav'n's Supreme;
Nor hope to be myself less miserable
By what I seek, but others to make such
As I, though thereby worse to me redound:
For only in destroying I find ease
To my relentless thoughts; and him destroy'd,
Or won to what may work his utter loss,
For whom all this was made, all this will soon
Follow, as to him link'd in weal or woe,
In woe then; that destruction wide may range.
To me shall be the glory sole among
The infernal powers, in one day to have marr'd
What he, Almighty styl'd, six nights and days
Continu'd making, and who knows how long
Before had been contriving, though perhaps
Not longer than since I in one night freed
From servitude inglorious well nigh half
Th' angelic name, and thinner left the throng
Of his adorers. He to be aveng'd,
And to repair his numbers thus impair'd,
Whether such virtue spent of old now fail'd
More angels to create, if they at least
Are his created, or to spite us more,
Determin'd to advance into our room

130 *him*] Milton sometimes uses the oblique case for the case absolute: so b. vii. 142, '*us* dispossessed:' Sams. Ag. 463, '*me* overthrown:' and see Jortin's note, 312.

A creature form'd of earth, and him endow,
Exalted from so base original,
With heav'nly spoils, our spoils: what he decreed
He effected; man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this world, and earth his seat,
Him lord pronounc'd, and, O indignity!
Subjected to his service angel wings,
And flaming ministers, to watch and tend
Their earthy charge. Of these the vigilance
I dread, and to elude, thus wrapp'd in mist
Of midnight vapour, glide obscure, and pry
In every bush and brake, where hap may find
The serpent sleeping, in whose mazy folds
To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
O foul descent! that I, who erst contended
With Gods to sit the highest, am now constrain'd
Into a beast, and mix'd with bestial slime,
This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
That to the highth of deity aspir'd;
But what will not ambition and revenge
Descend to? who aspires must down as low
As high he soar'd, obnoxious first or last
To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
Bitter ere long back on itself recoils:
Let it; I reck not, so it light well aim'd,
Since higher I fall short, on him who next
Provokes my envy, this new favourite
Of heav'n, this man of clay, son of despite,

[57] *charge*] v. 1 Corinth. 15. *Bentl. MS.*

Whom us the more to spite his maker rais'd
From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid.
So saying, through each thicket dank or dry,
Like a black mist low creeping, he held on
His midnight search, where soonest he might find
The serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found,
In labyrinth of many a round self-roll'd,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtil wiles:
Not yet in horrid shade or dismal den,
Nor nocent yet, but on the grassy herb,
Fearless unfear'd he slept. In at his mouth
The devil enter'd, and his brutal sense,
In heart or head, possessing soon inspir'd
With act intelligential; but his sleep
Disturb'd not, waiting close th' approach of morn.
Now, when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flow'rs, that breath'd
Their morning incense, when all things that breathe
From th' earth's great altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
And join'd their vocal worship to the quire
Of creatures wanting voice; that done partake
The season, prime for sweetest scents and airs:
Then commune, how that day they best may ply

178 *spite*] Æsch. Prom. 944.
Οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρεών. *Richardson.*
186 *Nor nocent*] So the second and subsequent editions. In the first it is 'Not nocent yet.' *Newton.*
190 *grassy herb*] Virg. Ecl. v. 26, 'graminis herbam.' *Newton.*

Their growing work; for much their work outgrew
The hands dispatch of two gard'ning so wide.
And Eve first to her husband thus began.
Adam, well may we labour still to dress
This garden, still to tend plant, herb, and flow'r,
Our pleasant task enjoin'd; but till more hands
Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
Luxurious by restraint; what we by day
Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides,
Tending to wild. Thou therefore now advise,
Or hear what to my mind first thoughts present;
Let us divide our labours, thou where choice
Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
The clasping ivy where to climb, while I
In yonder spring of roses intermix'd
With myrtle find what to redress till noon:
For while so near each other thus all day
Our task we choose, what wonder if so near
Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
Casual discourse draw on; which intermits
Our day's work, brought to little, though begun
Early, and th' hour of supper comes unearn'd.
To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd.

213 *hear*] 'Or bear' in the second ed. 'Or hear' in the first. No other editions vary.

218 *spring of roses*] See Herrick's Poems, p. 392,

'——— Where a spring
Of roses have an endless flourishing.'

A spring is 'a small thicket or coppice.'

Sole Eve, associate sole, to me beyond
Compare above all living creatures dear,
Well hast thou motion'd, well thy thoughts employ'd,
How we might best fulfill the work which here
GOD hath assign'd us, nor of me shall pass
Unprais'd; for nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote.
Yet not so strictly hath our Lord impos'd
Labour, as to debar us when we need
Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
Of looks and smiles; for smiles from reason flow,
To brute deny'd, and are of love the food,
Love not the lowest end of human life.
For not to irksome toil, but to delight,
He made us, and delight to reason join'd. [hands
These paths and bowers doubt not but our joint
Will keep from wilderness with ease, as wide
As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
Assist us: but if much converse perhaps
Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield:
For solitude sometimes is best society,
And short retirement urges sweet return.
But other doubt possesses me, lest harm

244 *These*] So in all the early editions till that of Tonson, 1711, which reads 'The paths,' a mistake followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley. *Todd.*

249 *For*] This line is an Alexandrine.

Befall thee sever'd from me; for thou know'st
What hath been warn'd us, what malicious foe
Envying our happiness, and of his own
Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame
By sly assault; and somewhere nigh at hand
Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
His wish and best advantage, us asunder,
Hopeless to circumvent us join'd, where each
To other speedy aid might lend at need:
Whether his first design be to withdraw
Our fealty from God, or to disturb
Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliss
Enjoy'd by us excites his envy more;
Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side
That gave thee being, still shades thee and protects.
The wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,
Who guards her, or with her the worst endures.
To whom the virgin majesty of Eve,
As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,
With sweet austere composure thus reply'd.
Offspring of heav'n and earth, and all earth's lord,
That such an enemy we have, who seeks
Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn,

270 *virgin*] Virg. Ecl. vi. 47, calls Pasiphäe virgin, after she had three children. Ovid, Hyps. Jas. 133, calls Medea 'Adultera virgo.' *Richardson.* The word 'puella' is used with the same latitude. On this expression see Valcknaer ad Catulli Epig. Callimach. p. 183, Virgo Intacta, pro Muliere virum passa, sed Casta. Schrader ad Musæum, p. 204. Theocr. Idyll. ii. 136.

And from the parting angel overheard,
As in a shady nook I stood behind,
Just then return'd at shut of evening flow'rs.
But that thou shouldst my firmness therefore doub
To GOD or thee, because we have a foe
May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
His violence thou fear'st not, being such,
As we, not capable of death or pain,
Can either not receive, or can repel.
His fraud is then thy fear, which plain infers
Thy equal fear, that my firm faith and love
Can by his fraud be shaken or seduc'd : [breast,
Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy
Adam, misthought of her to thee so dear?
To whom with healing words Adam reply'd.
Daughter of God and man, immortal Eve,
For such thou art, from sin and blame entire :
Not diffident of thee do I dissuade
Thy absence from my sight, but to avoid
Th' attempt itself, intended by our foe :
For he who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses
The tempted with dishonour foul, suppos'd
Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
Against temptation. Thou thyself with scorn
And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong,
Though ineffectual found : misdeem not then,
If such affront I labour to avert
From thee alone, which on us both at once
The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare,
Or daring, first on me th' assault shall light.

Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn;
Subtle he needs must be, who could seduce
Angels, nor think superfluous others' aid.
I from the influence of thy looks receive
Access in every virtue, in thy sight
More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or over-reach'd,
Would utmost vigour raise, and rais'd unite.
Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel
When I am present, and thy trial choose
With me, best witness of thy virtue try'd?
  So spake domestic Adam in his care
And matrimonial love; but Eve, who thought
Less attributed to her faith sincere,
Thus her reply with accent sweet renew'd.
  If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit straiten'd by a foe,
Subtle or violent, we not endu'd
Single with like defence, wherever met,
How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not sin: only our foe
Tempting affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integrity: his foul esteem
Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns
Foul on himself; then wherefore shunn'd or fear'd
By us? who rather double honour gain
From his surmise prov'd false, find peace within,
Favour from heav'n, our witness, from th' event.

316 *thy*] Fenton reads '*the* trial.'

And what is faith, love, virtue, unassay'd
Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?
Let us not then suspect our happy state
Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
As not secure to single or combin'd.
Frail is our happiness, if this be so,
And Eden were no Eden thus expos'd.
To whom thus Adam fervently reply'd.
O woman, best are all things as the will
Of GOD ordain'd them; his creating hand
Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he created, much less man,
Or aught that might his happy state secure,
Secure from outward force; within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power:
Against his will he can receive no harm.
But GOD left free the will, for what obeys
Reason is free, and reason he made right;
But bid her well beware, and still erect,
Lest by some fair appearing good surpriz'd
She dictate false, and misinform the will
To do what GOD expressly hath forbid.
Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoins,
That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me.
Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve,
Since reason not impossibly may meet
Some specious object by the foe suborn'd,
And fall into deception unaware,
Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warn'd.
Seek not temptation then, which to avoid

Were better, and most likely, if from me
Thou sever not: trial will come unsought.
Wouldst thou approve thy constancy, approve
First thy obedience; th' other who can know,
Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?
But if thou think trial unsought may find
Us both securer than thus warn'd thou seem'st,
Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;
Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou hast of virtue, summon all,
For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine.

So spake the patriarch of mankind, but Eve
Persisted, yet submiss, though last, reply'd.

With thy permission then, and thus forewarn'd,
Chiefly by what thy own last reasoning words
Touch'd only, that our trial, when least sought,
May find us both perhaps far less prepar'd,
The willinger I go, nor much expect
A foe so proud will first the weaker seek;
So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse.

Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand
Soft she withdrew; and like a wood-nymph light
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves, but Delia's self
In gait surpass'd and goddess-like deport,
Though not as she with bow and quiver arm'd
But with such gard'ning tools as art, yet rude,
Guiltless of fire had form'd, or angels brought.

To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,
Likest she seem'd Pomona when she fled
Vertumnus, or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
Her long with ardent look his eye pursu'd
Delighted, but desiring more her stay:
Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated, she to him as oft engag'd
To be return'd by noon amid the bow'r,
And all things in best order to invite
Noontide repast, or afternoon's repose.
O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,
Of thy presum'd return! event perverse!
Thou never from that hour in paradise
Found'st either sweet repast, or sound repose;

394 *Likest*] So in Milton's first ed.; in the second, by mistake, it is printed 'Likeliest. *Newton.*

394 *fled*] Not when Pomona fled Vertumnus, but when she had her tools. *Bentl. MS.*

396 *virgin*] This expression, 'Virgin of Proserpina,' however violent or uncommon it may be, is doubtless that which Milton gave. I once conjectured that it might have been written 'or,' as I do not think Pearce's objection of force. Proserpine certainly, as he says, 'had nothing to do with husbandry or gardening;' but, like Eve, she was gathering flowers, an employment sufficiently similar for a poetical comparison; but I think Milton would not have resembled Eve to both the mother and the daughter; his active imagination, and learned memory, would have supplied him with another name:—and this idiom, though uncommon, is in Milton's manner: it is considered 'noble' by Lord Monboddo, and 'elegant' by Warburton; besides, 'Proserpina from Jove' would be a construction more violent than the one admitted.

Such ambush hid among sweet flow'rs and shades
Waited with hellish rancor imminent
To intercept thy way, or send thee back
Despoil'd of innocence, of faith, of bliss.
For now, and since first break of dawn the fiend,
Mere serpent in appearance, forth was come,
And on his quest, where likeliest he might find
The only two of mankind, but in them
The whole included race, his purpos'd prey.
In bow'r and field he sought, where any tuft
Of grove or garden-plot more pleasant lay,
Their tendance or plantation for delight,
By fountain or by shady rivulet
He sought them both, but wish'd his hap might find
Eve separate; he wish'd, but not with hope
Of what so seldom chanc'd, when to his wish,
Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,
Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood,
Half spy'd, so thick the roses bushing round
About her glow'd, oft stooping to support
Each flow'r of slender stalk, whose head though gay
Carnation, purple, azure, or speck'd with gold,
Hung drooping unsustain'd; them she upstays

408 *hid*] In Tonson's ed. 1711, it is printed

'Such ambush laid,'

which reading has been followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley. Newton restored the genuine reading 'hid.' *Todd.*

424 *separate*] See Beaumont's Psyche. c. vi. st. 215. and A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. 1. p. 26.

'Incomitata viro, forte uxor sola, per hortum,
Regali incedit gressu.'

Gently with myrtle band, mindless the while,
Her self, though fairest unsupported flow'r,
From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh.
Nearer he drew, and many a walk travers'd
Of stateliest covert, cedar, pine, or palm,
Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen
Among thick-woven arborets and flow'rs
Imborder'd on each bank, the hand of Eve:
Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd
Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd
Alcinous, host of old Laertes' son,
Or that, not mystic, where the sapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.
Much he the place admir'd, the person more.
As one who long in populous city pent
Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
Forth issuing on a summer's morn to breathe
Among the pleasant villages and farms
Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight,
The smell of grain, or tedded grass, or kine,
Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural sound;
If chance with nymph-like step fair virgin pass,
What pleasing seem'd, for her now pleases more,
She most, and in her look sums all delight:

435 *and bold*] Voluble in folds. *Bentl. MS.*

438 *Imborder'd*] 'Imborder' is one of those Miltonic words of which Johnson takes no notice in his dictionary. *Todd.*

445 *populous*] See Sylvester Dubartas. p. 40.

454 *She most*] So Petrarch. de Remed. Ut. Fortunæ. ii. 96. 'Non videbis amodo frondosas valles, aereos montes, flo-

Such pleasure took the serpent to behold
This flow'ry plat, the sweet recess of Eve
Thus early, thus alone: her heav'nly form
Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air
Of gesture or least action, over-aw'd
His malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought.
That space the evil one abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good, of enmity disarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge;
But the hot hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid heav'n, soon ended his delight,
And tortures him now more, the more he sees
Of pleasure not for him ordain'd: then soon
Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites. [sweet
Thoughts, whither have ye led me, with what
Compulsion thus transported to forget
What hither brought us, hate, not love, nor hope
Of paradise for hell, hope here to taste
Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
Save what is in destroying, other joy
To me is lost. Then let me not let pass
Occasion which now smiles; behold alone
The woman opportune to all attempts,

reos cespites, umbrosos specus, lucidos fontes, vaga flumina, prata virentia, *quodque pulcherrimum visu dicunt*, humani oris effigiem.'

Her husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb
Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould;
Foe not informidable, exempt from wound,
I not: so much hath hell debas'd, and pain
Infeebled me, to what I was in heav'n.
She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terror be in love,
And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate,
Hate stronger under show of love well feign'd;
The way which to her ruin now I tend.
So spake the enemy of mankind, enclos'd
In serpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve
Address'd his way, not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that tower'd

496 *indented*] v. Dionys. Perig. ver. 123.

Ως δε δράκων βλοσυρωπος ἐλίσσεται ἀγκύλος ἕρπων.
A. Dyce.

496 *wave*] So Arati Phænomena. 45.

Τὰς δὲ δὶ ἀμφοτέρας, οἵη ποταμοῖο ἀποῤῥὼξ,
Εἰλεῖται, μέγα θαῦμα, δράκων.

497 *on his rear*] See Ovidii Metam. lib. xv. ver. 673.

'Pectoribusque tenus media sublimis in æde
Constitit; atque oculos circumtulit igne micantes!'

498 *tower'd*] Very similar is the description of the Serpent in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius. p. 38.

——— 'Oculi ardent duo,
Adrecta cervix surgit, et maculis nitet
Pectus superbis. Cærulis picti notis
Sinuantur orbes, tortiles spiræ micant

Fold above fold a surging maze, his head
Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burnish'd neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant: pleasing was his shape,
And lovely, never since of serpent kind
Lovelier, not those that in Illyria chang'd
Hermione and Cadmus, or the God
In Epidaurus; nor to which transform'd
Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen,
He with Olympias, this with her who bore
Scipio the highth of Rome. With tract oblique
At first, as one who sought access, but fear'd
To interrupt, side-long he works his way.
As when a ship by skilful steersman wrought
Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail;
So vary'd he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,
To lure her eye; she busied heard the sound
Of rustling leaves, but minded not, as us'd
To such disport before her through the field,
From every beast, more duteous at her call,
Than at Circean call the herd disguis'd.

Auri colore, lubricum longos sinus
Tendit volumen, terga se in gyrus plicant.'

502 *circling*] Coiling. Curling. 517. *Bentl. MS.*

522 *herd*] See Ov. Met. xiv. 45.

'———perque *ferarum*
Agmen *adulantûm* media procedit ab aulâ.' *Todd.*

He bolder now uncall'd before her stood;
But as in gaze admiring: oft he bow'd
His turret crest, and sleek enamel'd neck,
Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
The eye of Eve to mark his play; he glad
Of her attention gain'd, with serpent tongue
Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began.
Wonder not, sov'reign mistress, if perhaps
Thou canst, who art sole wonder, much less arm
Thy looks, the heav'n of mildness, with disdain,
Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Insatiate, I thus single, nor have fear'd
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,
Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine

521 *bow'd*] See Beaumont's Psyche, c. vi. st. 237.

'Thrice did he bow his flatt'ring neck, and thrice
His silent homage he presented her.'

So Grotii Adam. Exsul. p. 38.

'Nunc se reclinat flexile in collum caput.'

525 *crest*] See Dante Il Purgator. canto viii. v. 99.

'Tra l' erba e i fior venià la mala striscia,
Volgendo ad or ad or la testa, e 'l dosso
Leccando, come bestia che si liscia.'

536 *lick'd*] A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. 1. p. 27.

'Illi adversa ferens vestigia tortilis anguis,
Ut molles aditus, et commoda tempora novit,
Ante pedes prono se vultu sternit heriles
Adlambensque imas plantas, sic callidus infit.

By gift, and thy celestial beauty adore
With ravishment beheld, there best beheld
Where universally admir'd: but here
In this enclosure wild, these beasts among,
Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
Who sees thee? and what is one? who shouldst be
A Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd [seen
By angels numberless, thy daily train.
So gloz'd the tempter, and his proem tun'd;
Into the heart of Eve his words made way,
Though at the voice much marvelling: at length
Not unamaz'd she thus in answer spake.
What may this mean? Language of man pronounc'd
By tongue of brute, and human sense express'd?
The first at least of these I thought deny'd
To beasts, whom GOD on their creation-day
Created mute to all articulate sound;
The latter I demur, for in their looks
Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears.
Thee, serpent, subtlest beast of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice endu'd;
Redouble then this miracle, and say,
How cam'st thou speakable of mute, and how
To me so friendly grown above the rest
Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight?
Say, for such wonder claims attention due.
To whom the guileful tempter thus reply'd.
Empress of this fair world, resplendent Eve,

[598] *resplendent*] Transcendent. *Bentl. MS.*

Easy to me it is to tell thee all [obey'd
What thou command'st, and right thou shouldst be
I was at first as other beasts that graze
The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
As was my food, nor aught but food discern'd
Or sex, and apprehended nothing high:
Till on a day roving the field, I chanc'd
A goodly tree far distant to behold
Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixt,
Ruddy and gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
When from the boughs a savoury odour blown,
Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense
Than smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats
Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at ev'n,
Unsuck'd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
To satisfy the sharp desire I had
Of tasting those fair apples, I resolv'd
Not to defer; hunger and thirst at once,
Powerful persuaders, quicken'd at the scent
Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keen.
About the mossy trunk I wound me soon,
For high from ground the branches would require
Thy utmost reach or Adam's: round the tree
All other beasts that saw with like desire,
Longing and envying, stood, but could not reach.
Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill

[581] *fennel*] See Prose Works, i. p. 239. 'That gave him to see clearer than any *fennel-rubb'd serpent*.'

I spar'd not, for such pleasure till that hour
At feed or fountain never had I found.
Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
Strange alteration in me, to degree
Of reason in my inward powers, and speech
Wanted not long, though to this shape retain'd.
Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Consider'd all things visible in heav'n,
Or earth, or middle, all things fair and good;
But all that fair and good in thy divine
Semblance and in thy beauty's heav'nly ray
United I beheld; no fair to thine
Equivalent or second, which compell'd
Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come
And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd
Sov'reign of creatures, universal dame.
So talk'd the spirited sly snake; and Eve
Yet more amaz'd unwary thus reply'd.
Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt
The virtue of that fruit, in thee first prov'd:
But say, where grows the tree? from hence how far?
For many are the trees of God that grow
In paradise, and various, yet unknown
To us, in such abundance lies our choice,
As leaves a greater store of fruit untouch'd,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to their provision, and more hands
Help to disburden nature of her birth.
To whom the wily adder, blithe and glad.

Empress, the way is ready, and not long,
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past
Of blowing myrrh and balm: if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon.
Lead then, said Eve. He leading swiftly roll'd
In tangles, and made intricate seem straight,
To mischief swift: hope elevates, and joy
Brightens his crest: as when a wand'ring fire
Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night
Condenses, and the cold environs round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends,
Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
Misleads th' amaz'd night-wanderer from his way
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There swallow'd up and lost, from succour far:
So glister'd the dire snake, and into fraud
Led Eve our credulous mother, to the tree
Of prohibition, root of all our woe:
Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake.

629 *myrrh and balm*] A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. i. 28.
'Quid memorem Zephyri spirantia flamina stacten?
Et myrrhæ lacrymas, stillantes vulnere matris?'

640 *Misleads*] So Mids. N. Dream, act ii. sc. 1.
'*Misleads night wanderers*, laughing at their harm.'
Todd.

643 *fraud*] 'Fraud' signifies hurt, damage. Virg. Æn. x. 72.
'Quis deus in fraudem, quæ dura potentia nostra
Egit?' *Newton.*

Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess,
The credit of whose virtue rest with thee,
Wond'rous indeed, if cause of such effects.
But of this tree we may not taste nor touch,
God so commanded; and left that command
Sole daughter of his voice; the rest, we live
Law to our selves, our reason is our law.
To whom the tempter guilefully reply'd.
Indeed! hath God then said that of the fruit
Of all these garden trees ye shall not eat,
Yet lords declar'd of all in earth or air?
To whom thus Eve yet sinless. Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat,
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst
The garden, God hath said, ye shall not eat
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die. [bold
She scarce had said, though brief, when now more
The tempter, but with show of zeal and love
To man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on, and, as to passion mov'd,
Fluctuates disturb'd, yet comely, and in act
Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.
As when of old some orator renown'd
In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence [dress'd,
Flourish'd, since mute, to some great cause ad-
Stood in himself collected, while each part,
Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue;
Sometimes in highth began, as no delay
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right:

So standing, moving, or to highth upgrown,
The tempter all impassion'd thus began.
O sacred, wise, and wisdom-giving plant,
Mother of science, now I feel thy power
Within me clear, not only to discern
Things in their causes, but to trace the ways
Of highest agents, deem'd however wise.
Queen of this universe, do not believe
Those rigid threats of death; ye shall not die:
How should ye? by the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge: by the threatener? look on me,
Me who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live,
And life more perfect have attain'd than fate
Meant me, by vent'ring higher than my lot.
Shall that be shut to man, which to the beast
Is open? or will God incense his ire
For such a petty trespass, and not praise
Rather your dauntless virtue, whom the pain
Of death denounc'd, whatever thing death be,
Deterr'd not from achieving what might lead
To happier life, knowledge of good and evil?
Of good, how just? of evil, if what is evil
Be real, why not known, since easier shunn'd?

686 *How*] In Milton's own edition the passage is thus improperly pointed.

How should ye? by the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge? by the threatener, look on me.

Tickell follows Tonson's early editions in retaining the note of interrogation after knowledge, but in supplying another after 'threatener.' Fenton corrected the error, and he has been since followed. *Todd.*

God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just;
Not just, not God; not fear'd then, nor obey'd:
Your fear itself of death removes the fear.
Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,
His worshippers; he knows that in the day
Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
Open'd and clear'd, and ye shall be as Gods,
Knowing both good and evil as they know.
That ye should be as Gods, since I as man,
Internal man, is but proportion meet,
I of brute human, ye of human Gods.
So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
Human, to put on Gods; death to be wish'd,
Though threaten'd, which no worse than this can bring.
And what are Gods that man may not become
As they, participating godlike food?
The Gods are first, and that advantage use
On our belief, that all from them proceeds:
I question it, for this fair earth I see,
Warm'd by the sun, producing every kind,
Them nothing: if they all things, who enclos'd
Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
That whoso eats thereof forthwith attains
Wisdom without their leave? and wherein lies
Th' offence, that man should thus attain to know?
What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
Impart against his will if all be his?

Or is it envy; and can envy dwell
In heav'nly breasts? These, these and many more
Causes import your need of this fair fruit.
Goddess humane, reach then, and freely taste.
He ended, and his words replete with guile
Into her heart too easy entrance won:
Fix'd on the fruit she gaz'd, which to behold
Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound
Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregn'd
With reason, to her seeming, and with truth:
Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell
So savoury of that fruit, which with desire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,
Solicited her longing eye; yet first
Pausing a while, thus to herself she mus'd.
Great are thy virtues, doubtless, best of fruits,
Though kept from man, and worthy to be admir'd,
Whose taste, too long forborn, at first assay

735 *behold*] Grotii Adamus Exsul, p. 9.

' ——— Pomi dulcis adspectu color,
Gustus cupido, quod volo, spondent mihi.'

741 *fruit*] v. Beaumont's Psyche, vi. 252.

' These charms still ope the door into the heart,
Of careless Eve, and thrust their poison in,
Besides the smiling apples plaid their part,
And her affections with her eye did win.'

745 *Great*] So in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius, Eve addresses the fruit, p. 45.

' O dulce pomum! quam tua hæc species meis
Adridet oculis! quam vel olfactus juvat!'

Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
The tongue not made for speech to speak thy praise:
Thy praise he also who forbids thy use
Conceals not from us, naming thee the Tree
Of Knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;
Forbids us then to taste, but his forbidding
Commends thee more, while it infers the good
By thee communicated, and our want:
For good unknown sure is not had, or had
And yet unknown is as not had at all.
In plain then, what forbids he but to know,
Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise?
Such prohibitions bind not. But if death
Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we shall die.
How dies the serpent? he hath eaten and lives,
And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
Irrational till then. For us alone
Was death invented? or to us deny'd
This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd?
For beasts it seems: yet that one beast which first
Hath tasted envies not, but brings with joy
The good befall'n him, author unsuspect,
Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile.
What fear I then, rather what know to fear
Under this ignorance of good and evil,
Of God or death, of law or penalty?
Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,

Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,
Of virtue to make wise: what hinders then
To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?
So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat
Sighing through all her works gave signs of woe,
That all was lost. Back to the thicket slunk
The guilty serpent, and well might, for Eve
Intent now wholly on her taste naught else
Regarded, such delight till then, as seem'd,
In fruit she never tasted, whether true
Or fancy'd so, through expectation high
Of knowledge; nor was Godhead from her thought.
Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint,
And knew not eating death: satiate at length,

782 *wound*] See Beaumont's Psyche, c. vi. st. 254.

'Up went her desperate hand, and reach'd away
All the world's blesse; whilst she the apple took;
When, loe, the earth did move; the heav'ns did stay,
Beasts and birds shiver'd; absent Adam shook.'

782 *Nature*] v. the Sarcotis of Masenius on the same subject, lib. ii.

'Natura nefas horrescere visa,
Pondere tam gravium cœpit titubare malorum.'
'Tota anceps Natura stetit.'
'Tellus infecta veneno
Obstupuit.'

784 *slunk*] So in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius, p. 47, after the success of the temptation, Sathan says,

'Ego ad latebras tacitus abrepam meas.'

792 *knew not*] A Greek phrase used by the Latins. v. Opp. Halieut. ii. 106.

ὀυδ' ἐνοήσαν ἐὸν σπένδοντες ὄλεθρον. *Richardson.*

And highten'd as with wine, jocond and boon,
Thus to herself she pleasingly began.
O sov'reign, virtuous, precious of all trees
In paradise, of operation blest
To sapience, hitherto obscur'd, infam'd,
And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
Created: but henceforth my early care,
Not without song, each morning, and due praise
Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden ease
Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
Till dieted by thee I grow mature
In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know;
Though others envy what they cannot give;
For had the gift been theirs, it had not here
Thus grown. Experience, next to thee I owe,
Best guide; not following thee, I had remain'd
In ignorance; thou open'st wisdom's way,
And giv'st access, though secret she retire.
And I perhaps am secret; heav'n is high,
High and remote to see from thence distinct
Each thing on earth; and other care perhaps
May have diverted from continual watch
Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies
About him. But to Adam in what sort
Shall I appear? shall I to him make known

795 *precious*] The positive for the superlative. As Virgil, Æn. iv. 576.

'Sequimur te, *sancte* Deorum.' *Richardson.*

801 *Experience*] 'Thee Serpent.' *Bentl. MS.*

As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happiness with me, or rather not,
But keep the odds of knowledge in my power
Without copartner? so to add what wants
In female sex, the more to draw his love,
And render me more equal, and perhaps,
A thing not undesirable, sometime
Superior; for inferior who is free?
This may be well: but what if GOD have seen,
And death ensue? then I shall be no more,
And Adam wedded to another Eve
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
A death to think. Confirm'd then I resolve,
Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe:
So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
I could endure; without him live no life.
So saying, from the tree her step she turn'd,
But first low reverence done, as to the power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd

818 *give*] Newton has observed the beauty of this expression, and traced it through the Greek and Latin. See Hom. Il. i. 18. Virg. Æn. i. 65. 79. 522; and before in P. L. i. 736.

'——— and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.'

And iii. 243.

819 *partake*]

'O persuavis gustus! O tenero sapor
Gratus palato! quam tuus succus juvat!
Quam me beasti! Restat hoc unum modo,
Tanti ut maritus particeps fiat boni.'

Grotii Adam. Exsul. p. 47.

Into the plant sciential sap, deriv'd
From nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while,
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flow'rs a garland to adorn
Her tresses, and her rural labours crown,
As reapers oft are wont their harvest queen.
Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delay'd;
Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill,
Misgave him; he the falt'ring measure felt;
And forth to meet her went, the way she took
That morn when first they parted. By the Tree
Of Knowledge he must pass, there he her met,
Scarce from the tree returning; in her hand
A bough of fairest fruit that downy smil'd,
New gather'd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.
To him she hasted, in her face excuse
Came prologue, and apology too prompt,
Which with bland words at will she thus address'd.

845 *divine*] See Hor. Od. iii. xxvii. 10.

'Imbrium divina avis imminentum.'

and P. L. x. 357. *Newton.*

846 *falt'ring measure felt*] "I consider these words as obscure. They must, I presume, be interpreted as meaning, 'That Adam secretly felt some symptoms of the great change impressed on Nature by Eve's transgression.'" MS. Diary of Thomas Green, Esq. But the clearer explanation, I consider, is, 'Adam felt the faltering (or imperfect) measure of that 'great joy he promis'd,' and 'solace in her return.' Doubts mingling with his hope made the measure of joy falter, or be deficient.

854 *too*] This is Fenton's emendation; before, in all the editions it was 'to prompt,' which Newton considers to be an

Hast thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my stay?
Thee I have miss'd, and thought it long, depriv'd
Thy presence, agony of love till now
Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more
Mean I to try, what rash untry'd I sought,
The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear:
This tree is not, as we are told, a tree
Of danger tasted, nor to evil unknown
Op'ning the way, but of divine effect
To open eyes, and make them Gods who taste;
And hath been tasted such. The serpent wise,
Or not restrain'd as we, or not obeying,
Hath eaten of the fruit, and is become
Not dead, as we are threaten'd, but thenceforth
Endu'd with human voice and human sense,
Reasoning to admiration, and with me
Persuasively hath so prevail'd, that I
Have also tasted, and have also found
Th' effects to correspond; opener mine eyes,
Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead; which for thee
Chiefly I sought, without thee can despise.
For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss,
Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon.

error of the press, and Todd thinks might have been the genuine text.

880 *unshar'd with thee*] A. Ramsæi P. Sacr. vol. i. p. 32.

'——— sed te sine cœlum;
Te sine, dulce nihil! Terrisne, inglorius erro?
Subsides imis?'

Thou therefore also taste, that equal lot
May join us, equal joy, as equal love;
Lest thou not tasting, different degree
Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
Deity for thee, when fate will not permit.

Thus Eve with countenance blithe her story told;
But in her cheek distemper flushing glow'd.
On th' other side, Adam, soon as he heard
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,
Astonied stood and blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd;
From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
Down dropp'd, and all the faded roses shed:
Speechless he stood and pale, till thus at length
First to himself he inward silence broke.

O fairest of creation, last and best
Of all GOD's works, creature in whom excell'd
Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,

890 *horror chill*] So in Grotii Adamus Exsul, p. 48.

'Gelidus per artus vadit excussos tremor:
Exsanguis adsto: Crinis erectus riget.
Vix ipse valido spiritus gemitu viam
Prærupit.'

890 *blank*] Virg. Æn. ii. 120.

'Obstupuere animis, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor.'

and xii. 951. 'Illi solvuntur frigore membra.' *Hume.*

893 *dropp'd*] Mr. Bowle refers to Propert. El. iv. 9. and Pers. Sat. iii. 100.

Defac'd, deflower'd, and now to death devote?
Rather how hast thou yielded to transgress
The strict forbiddance, how to violate
The sacred fruit forbidd'n! some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd, for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die:
How can I live without thee? how forego
Thy sweet converse and love so dearly join'd,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn?
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
Would never from my heart: no no, I feel
The link of nature draw me: flesh of flesh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state
Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe.

So having said, as one from sad dismay
Recomforted, and after thoughts disturb'd
Submitting to what seem'd remediless,
Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd.

Bold deed thou hast presum'd, advent'rous Eve,
And peril great provok'd, who thus hast dar'd
Had it been only coveting to eye
That sacred fruit, sacred to abstinence,
Much more to taste it under bann to touch.

901 *devote*] Hor. Od. iv. xiv. 18.

'Devota morti pectora liberæ.' *Todd.*

922 *hast*] So it is in the first edition; in the second it is printed by mistake 'hath dar'd;' and that is followed by some others. *Newton.*

But past who can recal, or done undo?
Not God omnipotent, nor Fate, yet so
Perhaps thou shalt not die, perhaps the fact
Is not so heinous now, foretasted fruit,
Profan'd first by the serpent, by him first
Made common and unhallow'd ere our taste;
Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
Lives, as thou said'st, and gains to live as man
Higher degree of life, inducement strong
To us, as likely tasting to attain
Proportional ascent, which cannot be
But to be Gods, or angels demigods.
Nor can I think that God, creator wise,
Though threat'ning, will in earnest so destroy
Us his prime creatures, dignify'd so high,
Set over all his works, which in our fall,
For us created, needs with us must fail,
Dependent made; so God shall uncreate,
Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour lose,
Not well conceiv'd of God; who, though his power
Creation could repeat, yet would be loth
Us to abolish, lest the adversary
Triumph and say; Fickle their state whom God
Most favours, who can please him long? Me first
He ruin'd, now mankind; whom will he next?
Matter of scorn, not to be given the foe.
However I with thee have fix'd my lot,
Certain to undergo like doom; if death

926 *past*] See Pind. Olymp. ii. 29; and Sophocles Trach. 745.

τὸ γὰρ
φανθὲν τίς ἂν δυναιτ' ἀγέννητον ποιεῖν.

Consort with thee, death is to me as life;
So forcible within my heart I feel
The bond of nature draw me to my own,
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our state cannot be sever'd, we are one,
One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself.
So Adam, and thus Eve to him reply'd.
O glorious trial of exceeding love,
Illustrious evidence, example high,
Engaging me to emulate, but, short
Of thy perfection, how shall I attain,
Adam, from whose dear side I boast me sprung,
And gladly of our union near thee speak,
One heart, one soul in both; whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee resolv'd,
Rather than death or aught than death more dread
Shall separate us link'd in love so dear,
To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
If any be, of tasting this fair fruit,
Whose virtue, for of good still good proceeds,
Direct, or by occasion, hath presented
This happy trial of thy love, which else
So eminently never had been known.
Were it I thought death menac'd would ensue
This my attempt, I would sustain alone
The worst, and not persuade thee, rather die
Deserted, than oblige thee with a fact

978 *alone*] Eve says in the Adam. Exs. of Grotius, p. 54.
'——— Omne ruat in me malum,
Si quod futurum est. Parcat! O parcat viro!

980 *oblige*] Newton has observed the force of 'oblige,' to

Pernicious to thy peace, chiefly assur'd
Remarkably so late of thy so true,
So faithful love unequall'd; but I feel
Far otherwise th' event, not death, but life
Augmented, open'd eyes, new hopes, new joys,
Taste so divine, that what of sweet before
Hath touch'd my sense, flat seems to this and harsh.
On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
And fear of death deliver to the winds.
So saying, she embrac'd him, and for joy
Tenderly wept, much won that he his love
Had so ennobled, as of choice to incur
Divine displeasure for her sake, or death.
In recompense, for such compliance bad
Such recompense best merits, from the bough
She gave him of that fair enticing fruit
With liberal hand: he scrupled not to eat
Against his better knowledge, not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome with female charm.
Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,

render obnoxious to guilt or punishment. Cic. pro domo suâ, viii. 'Cum populum Romanum scelere *obligâsses.*' Fin. i. 14. and Hor. Od. ii. 8. 5.

'sed tu simul *obligâsti*
Perfidum votis caput.'

989 *winds*] A sort of proverbial expression. Hor. Od. i. xxvi. i.

'——— Tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare *ventis.*' *Newton.*

1001 *Nature*] See Virg. Georg. iv. 493, and Stat. Theb. xi. 410. 'Ter nigris avidus regnator ab oris

Sky lowr'd, and, mutt'ring thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal sin
Original; while Adam took no thought,
Eating his fill, nor Eve to iterate
Her former trespass fear'd, the more to soothe
Him with her lov'd society, that now,
As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth: but that false fruit
Far other operation first display'd,
Carnal desire inflaming; he on Eve
Began to cast lascivious eyes, she him
As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn:
Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.
  Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
And elegant, of sapience no small part,
Since to each meaning savour we apply,
And palate call judicious; I the praise
Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.
Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstain'd
From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
True relish, tasting; if such pleasure be
In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,
For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
But come, so well refresh'd, now let us play,
As meet is, after such delicious fare;

Intonuit, terque ima soli concussit, et ipsi
Armorum fugere Dei.'

and Val. Flac. viii. 117.

For never did thy beauty, since the day
I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd
With all perfections, so inflame my sense
With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous tree.
So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he seiz'd, and to a shady bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof imbower'd,
He led her nothing loath; flow'rs were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel,
And hyacinth, earth's freshest softest lap.
There they their fill of love and love's disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep
Oppress'd them, wearied with their amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
That with exhilarating vapour bland
About their spirits had play'd, and inmost powers
Made err, was now exhal'd, and grosser sleep
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Encumber'd, now had left them, up they rose
As from unrest, and, each the other viewing,

1044 *dewy sleep*] Il Penseroso, 146. 'Invite the dewy feather'd sleep.' and Val. Flac. iv. 16, 'Liquidique potentia somni.' Lucret. iv. 905, 'Somnus quietem inriget.' Auctor Epit. Iliados, 120,

'———Ille sopore
Corpus *inundatum* leni prostratus habebat.'

Soon found their eyes how open'd, and their minds
How darken'd: innocence, that as a veil
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour from about them; naked left
To guilty shame; he cover'd, but his robe
Uncover'd more. So rose the Danite strong
Herculean Samson from the harlot-lap
Of Philistean Dalilah, and wak'd
Shorn of his strength; they destitute and bare
Of all their virtue: silent, and in face
Confounded, long they sate, as strucken mute,
Till Adam, though not less than Eve abash'd,
At length gave utterance to these words constrain'd.

O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
To counterfeit man's voice, true in our fall,
False in our promis'd rising; since our eyes
Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
Both good and evil, good lost, and evil got,
Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
Of innocence, of faith, of purity,
Our wonted ornaments now soil'd and stain'd,
And in our faces evident the signs
Of foul concupiscence; whence evil store,

1058 *shame*] After 'shame' there is no stop even in Milton's own editions, and there should have been a semicolon at least. 'Shame *covered* Adam and Eve with his *robe*; but this *robe* of his *uncovered* them more.' v. S. Agon. 841. *Newton.* v. Psalm cix. 28. *Bowle.*

Even shame, the last of evils; of the first
Be sure then. How shall I behold the face
Henceforth of God or angel, erst with joy
And rapture so oft beheld? those heav'nly shapes
Will dazzle now this earthly, with their blaze
Insufferably bright. O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade
Obscur'd, where highest woods, impenetrable
To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad,
And brown as evening: cover me, ye pines,
Ye cedars, with innumerable boughs
Hide me, where I may never see them more.
But let us now, as in bad plight, devise
What best may for the present serve to hide
The parts of each from other, that seem most
To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seen,
Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together sew'd,
And girded on our loins, may cover round
Those middle parts, that this new comer, shame,
There sit not, and reproach us as unclean.
So counsel'd he, and both together went
Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose
The figtree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
But such as at this day to Indians known

1086 *impenetrable*] v. Stat. Theb. x. 85.

——— 'nulli *penetrabilis astro*
Lucus iners.' *Newton.*

1092 *for*] These lines misprinted in the second edition:

'What best may *from* the present serve to hide
The parts of each *for* other.'

In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High overarch'd, and echoing walks between;
There oft the Indian herdsman shunning heat
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
At loopholes cut thro' thickest shade. Those leaves
They gather'd broad, as Amazonian targe,
And with what skill they had together sew'd,
To gird their waist, vain covering, if to hide
Their guilt and dreaded shame; O how unlike
To that first naked glory! Such of late
Columbus found th' American so girt
With feather'd cincture, naked else and wild
Among the trees on isles and woody shores.
Thus fenc'd, and as they thought, their shame in part
Cover'd, but not at rest or ease of mind,
They sat them down to weep, nor only tears
Rain'd at their eyes, but high winds worse within
Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord, and shook sore
Their inward state of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now tost and turbulent:

1103 *Decan*] The most celebrated specimen of this tree in India, is one that entirely covers an island in the Nerbudda, about twelve miles above Broach. It is called Kuveer-Bur. See Heber's Travels in India, iii. 67, and Forbes' Orient. Mem. i. 274, iii. 246, 543. It is two thousand feet round, and has thirteen hundred and fifty trunks. See plate, i. 37.

For understanding rul'd not, and the will
Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
To sensual appetite, who from beneath
Usurping over sov'reign reason claim'd
Superior sway: from thus distemper'd breast
Adam, estrang'd in look and alter'd style,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renew'd. [stay'd
Would thou hadst hearken'd to my words, and
With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
Desire of wand'ring this unhappy morn
I know not whence possess'd thee; we had then
Remain'd still happy, not, as now, despoil'd
Of all our good, sham'd, naked, miserable.
Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
The faith they owe; when earnestly they seek
Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail.

To whom soon mov'd with touch of blame thus Eve.

What words have pass'd thy lips, Adam severe,
Imput'st thou that to my default, or will
Of wand'ring, as thou call'st it, which who knows
But might as ill have happen'd thou being by,
Or to thyself perhaps: hadst thou been there,
Or here th' attempt, thou couldst not have discern'd
Fraud in the serpent, speaking as he spake;
No ground of enmity between us known,
Why he should mean me ill, or seek to harm.

1128 *both*] Fenton reads 'but in subjection.'

1144 *words*] Compare Hom. Il. xiv. 83.

Ἀτρέιδη, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων. *Thy*

Was I to have never parted from thy side?
As good have grown there still a lifeless rib.
Being as I am, why didst not thou the head
Command me absolutely not to go,
Going into such danger, as thou said'st?
Too facil then thou didst not much gainsay,
Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
Hadst thou been firm and fix'd in thy dissent,
Neither had I transgress'd, nor thou with me.
To whom then first incens'd Adam reply'd.
Is this the love, is this the recompence
Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve, express'd
Immutable when thou wert lost, not I,
Who might have liv'd and joy'd immortal bliss,
Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?
And am I now upbraided, as the cause
Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,
It seems, in thy restraint: what could I more?
I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold
The danger, and the lurking enemy
That lay in wait: beyond this had been force,
And force upon free will hath here no place.
But confidence then bore thee on, secure
Either to meet no danger, or to find
Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
I also err'd in overmuch admiring

1165 *Immutable*] Inimitable. *Bentl. MS.*

1170 *thy*] 'So in the early editions; in Tonson's, 1711, it is 'in *my* restraint,' which Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley have improperly followed.

What seem'd in thee so perfect, that I thought
No evil durst attempt thee; but I rue
The error now, which is become my crime,
And thou th' accuser. Thus it shall befall
Him who to worth in women overtrusting
Lets her will rule; restraint she will not brook,
And left to herself, if evil thence ensue,
She first his weak indulgence will accuse.
Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning,
And of their vain contest appear'd no end.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

MAN'S transgression known, the guardian angels forsake paradise, and return up to heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved, GOD declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors; who descends, and gives sentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and reascends. Sin and Death, sitting till then at the gates of hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in hell, but to follow Satan their sire up to the place of man: to make the way easier from hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad highway, or bridge, over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made; then, preparing for earth, they meet him, proud of his success, returning to hell: their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full assembly relates with boasting his success against man: instead of applause, is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed, with himself also, suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in paradise; then, deluded with a show of the forbidden tree springing up before them, they greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; GOD foretells the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the present commands his angels to make several alterations in the heavens and elements. Adam, more and more perceiving his fallen condition, heavily bewails, rejects the condolement of Eve;

she persists, and at length appeases him: then, to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not; but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be revenged on the serpent, and exhorts her with him to seek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.

MEANWHILE the heinous and despightful act
Of Satan done in paradise, and how
He in the serpent had perverted Eve,
Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,
Was known in heav'n; for what can scape the eye
Of GOD all-seeing, or deceive his heart
Omniscient, who, in all things wise and just,
Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
Of man, with strength entire, and freewill arm'd,
Complete to have discover'd and repuls'd
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend!
For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd
The high injunction not to taste that fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying
Incurr'd, what could they less? the penalty,
And, manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.
  Up into heav'n from paradise in haste
Th' angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
For man; for of his state by this they knew,
Much wondring how the subtle fiend had stol'n
Entrance unseen. Soon as th' unwelcome news
From earth arriv'd at heaven gate, displeas'd
All were who heard; dim sadness did not spare

That time celestial visages, yet mix'd
With pity violated not their bliss.
About the new arriv'd in multitudes
Th' ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befell: they towards the throne supreme
Accountable made haste to make appear
With righteous plea their utmost vigilance,
And easily approv'd; when the most high
Eternal Father from his secret cloud
Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.
Assembled angels, and ye powers return'd
From unsuccessful charge, be not dismay'd,
Nor troubled at these tidings from the earth,
Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
When first this tempter cross'd the gulf from hell.
I told ye then he should prevail and speed
On his bad errand, man should be seduc'd
And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
Against his Maker; no decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
His free will, to her own inclining left
In even scale. But fall'n he is, and now
What rests, but that the mortal sentence pass
On his transgression, death denounc'd that day,
Which he presumes already vain and void,
Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
By some immediate stroke; but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.

Justice shall not return as bounty scorn'd.
But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee
Vicegerent Son; to thee I have transferr'd
All judgment, whether in heav'n, or earth, or hell.
Easy it may be seen that I intend
Mercy colleague with justice, sending thee
Man's friend, his mediator, his design'd
Both ransom and redeemer voluntary,
And destin'd man himself to judge man fall'n.
  So spake the Father, and, unfolding bright
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
Blaz'd forth unclouded Deity; he full
Resplendent all his Father manifest
Express'd, and thus divinely answer'd mild.
  Father eternal, thine is to decree,
Mine both in heav'n and earth to do thy will
Supreme, that thou in me thy Son belov'd
May'st ever rest well pleas'd. I go to judge
On earth these thy transgressors, but thou know'st,
Whoever judg'd, the worst on me must light,
When time shall be, for so I undertook
Before thee, and not repenting this obtain
Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
On me deriv'd; yet I shall temper so
Justice with mercy, as may illustrate most
Them fully satisfy'd, and thee appease.
Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none
Are to behold the judgment, but the judg'd,

[58] *may*] 'The second edition, and others, give 'Easy it *might* be seen.'

Those two; the third best absent is condemn'd,
Convict by flight, and rebel to all law,
Conviction to the serpent none belongs.
Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose
Of high collateral glory: him thrones and powers,
Princedoms and dominations ministrant
Accompany'd to heaven gate, from whence
Eden and all the coast in prospect lay.
Down he descended straight; the speed of gods
Time counts not, tho' with swiftest minutes wing'd.
Now was the sun in western cadence low
From noon, and gentle airs due at their hour
To fan the earth now wak'd, and usher in
The ev'ning cool, when he from wrath more cool
Came, the mild judge and intercessor both,
To sentence man: the voice of GOD they heard
Now walking in the garden, by soft winds
Brought to their ears, while day declin'd, they heard,
And from his presence hid themselves among
The thickest trees, both man and wife, till GOD
Approaching thus to Adam call'd aloud.
Where art thou Adam, wont with joy to meet

86 *collateral*] Shakesp. All's Well that Ends Well, act i. scene i.

In his bright *radiance* and *collateral* light,
Must I be comforted, not in his sphere.'

Steevens.

103 *Where art thou*] See A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. vol. i. p. 35.

'———— vocisque volutat imago,
Per nemus ingeminans, Adam! Adam! quæ loca, quæ to

My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,
Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with solitude,
Where obvious duty erewhile appear'd unsought:
Or come I less conspicuous, or what change
Absents thee, or what chance detains? Come forth.
He came, and with him Eve, more loth, though first
To offend, discountenanc'd both, and discompos'd.
Love was not in their looks, either to God
Or to each other, but apparent guilt,
And shame, and perturbation, and despair,
Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile.
Whence Adam, falt'ring long, thus answer'd brief.
I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice
Afraid, being naked, hid myself. To whom
The gracious judge without revile reply'd.
My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not fear'd,
But still rejoic'd; how is it now become
So dreadful to thee? that thou art naked, who
Hath told thee? hast thou eaten of the tree
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?
To whom thus Adam sore beset reply'd.
O heav'n! in evil strait this day I stand
Before my Judge, either to undergo

Terrarumque tenent sedes? Commercia nostra
Congressusque fugis? Silvis quid te abdis opacis?'

116 *I heard*] So in Grotii Adamus Exsul, p. 67.

'Audivi truces,
Metuende rector! per nemus sacrum sonos'
——————— membra concussit pavor
Tremuique totus.'

Myself the total crime, or to accuse
My other self, the partner of my life;
Whose failing, while her faith to me remains,
I should conceal, and not expose to blame
By my complaint; but strict necessity
Subdues me, and calamitous constraint,
Lest on my head both sin and punishment,
However insupportable, be all
Devolv'd: though should I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.
This woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,
And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
So fit, so acceptable, so divine,
That from her hand I could suspect no ill,
And what she did, whatever in itself,
Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat.
To whom the sov'reign Presence thus reply'd.
Was she thy GOD, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice? or was she made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
Wherein GOD set thee above her, made of thee,
And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd

137 *This woman*] ‘ Consortem dederas thalami;
——— per te dotale venenum
Hoc ego concepi. Nam quæ mihi lege jugali
Juncta fuit, nostro per te dignata cubili,
Blanditiis teneris nostris amplexibus hærens,
Ferales epulas, inimicaque fercula suasit.
A. Rams. P. S. i. p. 37.

Hers in all real dignity? adorn'd
She was indeed, and lovely to attract
Thy love, not thy subjection; and her gifts
Were such as under government well seem'd,
Unseemly to bear rule, which was thy part
And person, hadst thou known thyself aright.
So having said, he thus to Eve in few:
Say, woman, what is this which thou hast done?
To whom sad Eve with shame nigh overwhelm'd,
Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge
Bold or loquacious, thus abash'd reply'd.
The serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat.
Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
To judgment he proceeded on th' accus'd
Serpent though brute, unable to transfer
The guilt on him who made him instrument
Of mischief, and polluted from the end
Of his creation; justly then accurs'd,
As vitiated in nature: more to know
Concern'd not man, since he no further knew,
Nor alter'd his offence: yet God at last
To Satan first in sin his doom apply'd,

155 *thy part*] A pure Latinism, the personæ dramatis. So Cic. pro Mur. c. 2. 'Has *partes* lenitatis et misericordiæ, quas me Natura ipsa docuit, semper ago libenter: illam vero gravitatis, severitatis *personam* non appetivi.' *Richardson.*

157 *in few*] So K. Hen. IV. P. ii. act i. s. 1.

'*In few*; his death, whose spirit lent a fire.'

and Warner's Alb. Engl. 1608, p. 40.

'*In few*; the wars are full of woes.' *Todd.*

Though in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best:
And on the serpent thus his curse let fall.
Because thou hast done this, thou art accurs'd
Above all cattle, each beast of the field;
Upon thy belly groveling thou shalt go,
And dust shalt eat all the days of thy life.
Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her seed;
Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.
So spake this oracle, then verify'd
When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from heav'n,
Prince of the air; then rising from his grave
Spoil'd principalities and powers, triumph'd
In open'd show, and with ascension bright
Captivity led captive through the air,
The realm itself of Satan long usurp'd,
Whom he shall tread at last under our feet;
Ev'n he who now foretold his fatal bruise;
And to the woman thus his sentence turn'd.
Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
By thy conception; children thou shalt bring
In sorrow forth, and to thy husband's will
Thine shall submit; he over thee shall rule.
On Adam last thus judgment he pronounc'd.
Because thou hast hearken'd to the voice of thy wife,"
And eaten of the tree concerning which
I charg'd thee, saying: Thou shalt not eat thereof,
Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow

Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life;
Thorns also and thistles it shall bring thee forth
Unbid, and thou shalt eat th' herb of the field;
In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,
Till thou return unto the ground, for thou
Out of the ground wast taken, know thy birth,
For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.
So judg'd he man, both Judge and Saviour sent;
And th' instant stroke of death denounc'd that day
Remov'd far off; then pitying how they stood
Before him naked to the air, that now
Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
As when he wash'd his servants' feet, so now
As father of his family he clad
Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
Or as the snake with youthful coat repaid;
And thought not much to clothe his enemies.
Nor he their outward only with the skins
Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness,
Arraying, cover'd from his Father's sight.
To him with swift ascent he up return'd,
Into his blissful bosom reassum'd
In glory as of old, to him appeas'd
All, though all-knowing, what had past with man
Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.
Meanwhile, ere thus was sinn'd and judg'd on earth,
Within the gates of hell sat Sin and death,

In counterview within the gates, that now
Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
Far into Chaos, since the fiend pass'd through,
Sin opening, who thus now to Death began.
O son, why sit we here, each other viewing
Idly, while Satan our great author thrives
In other worlds, and happier seat provides
For us his offspring dear? It cannot be
But that success attends him; if mishap,
Ere this he had return'd, with fury driv'n
By his avengers, since no place like this
Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
Wings growing, and dominion giv'n me large
Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on,
Or sympathy, or some connatural force,
Powerful at greatest distance to unite
With secret amity things of like kind
By secretest conveyance. Thou my shade
Inseparable must with me along;
For Death from Sin no power can separate.
But lest the difficulty of passing back
Stay his return perhaps over this gulf
Impassable, impervious, let us try

232 *belching*] Spens. F. Q. i. xi. 44.

'As burning Ætna from his boyling stew
Doth *belch* out *flames*.' *Todd.*

249 *shade*] 'Shade' used in the same manner in class. authors. Hor. Sat. ii. 8. 22.

—— 'quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras!' *Newton.*

Advent'rous work, yet to thy power and mine
Not unagreeable, to found a path
Over this main from hell to that new world
Where Satan now prevails, a monument
Of merit high to all th' infernal host,
Easing their passage hence, for intercourse,
Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
Nor can I miss the way so strongly drawn
By this new felt attraction and instinct.

Whom thus the meagre shadow answer'd soon.
Go whither fate and inclination strong
Leads thee; I shall not lag behind, nor err,
The way thou leading, such a scent I draw
Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
The savour of death from all things there that live:
Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest
Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.

So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,

[206] *err*] Newton has thus pointed the text:

——— 'I shall not lag behind, nor err
The way, thou leading.'

Well may he call it a remarkable expression; but it should thus be stopt:

——— 'I shall not lag behind, nor err,
The way thou leading.'

This error is retained in Mr. Todd's edition. It is, however, proper to observe, that the punctuation of Milton's own editions agrees with Newton's.

[268] *innumerable*] 'Exuberant.' *Bentl. MS.*

Against the day of battel, to a field,
Where armies lie encamp'd, come flying, lur'd
With scent of living carcasses design'd
For death, the following day, in bloody fight:
So scented the grim feature, and upturn'd
His nostril wide into the murky air,
Sagacious of his quarry from so far.
Then both from out hell gates into the waste
Wide anarchy of Chaos damp and dark
Flew diverse, and with power, their power was great,
Hovering upon the waters; what they met
Solid or slimy, as in raging sea
Tost up and down, together crowded drove
From each side shoaling towards the mouth of hell.
As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop th' imagin'd way
Beyond Petsora eastward, to the rich
Cathaian coast. The aggregated soil
Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
As with a trident smote, and fix'd as firm
As Delos floating once; the rest his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move,
And with Asphaltic slime, broad as the gate,

294 *mace*] So Marlowe and Nash's Trag. of Dido. 1594.
'Whose memory, like pale *Death's stony mace*,
Beates forth my senses.' *Richardson.*

297 *Gorgonian*] Claud. Rufin. i. 279.
'*Rigidâ* cum *Gorgone* Perseus!' *Pearce.*

Deep to the roots of hell the gather'd beach
They fasten'd, and the mole immense wrought on
Over the foaming deep high arch'd, a bridge
Of length prodigious joining to the wall
Immoveable of this now fenceless world
Forfeit to death; from hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to hell.
So, if great things to small may be compar'd,
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Susa his Memnonian palace high
Came to the Sea, and over Hellespont
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd,
And scourg'd with many a stroke th' indignant waves.
Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock
Over the vex'd abyss, following the track
Of Satan, to the self-same place where he

305 *inoffensive*] Unobstructed. Stillingfleet notes the same Latin idiom in b. viii. 164.

'Or she [Earth] from west her silent course advance
With *inoffensive* pace.'

313 *ridge*] Bridge. *Bentl. MS.*

315 *Of Satan*] Newton has altered the pointing of the first edition, by inserting a comma after Chaos, but I think the passage would be clear, if thus read.

Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock,
Over the vex'd abyss (following the track
Of Satan, to the self-same place where he
First lighted from his wing, and landed safe

First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
From out of Chaos, to the outside bare
Of this round world: with pins of adamant
And chains they made all fast, too fast they made
And durable; and now in little space
The confines met of empyrean heav'n
And of this world, and on the left hand hell
With long reach interpos'd; three sev'ral ways
In sight to each of these three places led.
And now their way to earth they had descry'd,
To paradise first tending, when behold
Satan in likeness of an angel bright
Betwixt the centaur and the scorpion steering
His zenith, while the sun in aries rose:
Disguis'd he came, but those his children dear
Their parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
He, after Eve seduc'd, unminded slunk
Into the wood fast by, and, changing shape
To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded
Upon her husband, saw their shame that sought
Vain covertures: but when he saw descend
The Son of God to judge them, terrify'd
He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
The present, fearing guilty what his wrath
Might suddenly inflict: that past, return'd
By night, and listening where the hapless pair

From out of Chaos) to the outside bare
Of this round world.

The part that relates to Satan's path being parenthetical.

Sat in their sad discourse and various plaint,
Thence gather'd his own doom, which understood
Not instant, but of future time, with joy
And tidings fraught, to hell he now return'd,
And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhop'd
Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear.
Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight
Of that stupendous bridge his joy increas'd.
Long he admiring stood, till Sin, his fair
Inchanting daughter, thus the silence broke.

O parent, these are thy magnific deeds,
Thy trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own;
Thou art their author and prime architect:
For I no sooner in my heart divin'd,
My heart, which by a secret harmony
Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet,
That thou on earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks
Now also evidence, but straight I felt,
Though distant from thee worlds between, yet felt
That I must after thee with this thy son,
Such fatal consequence unites us three.
Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,
Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
Detain from following thy illustrious track.
Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd

345 *time*] In Milton's own editions, and all others till those of Fenton and Bentley, a full stop was placed after 'Not instant, but of future time.' Newton has inserted only a comma.

364 *consequence*] Congruence. 247. *Bentl. MS.*

Within hell gates till now; thou us impower'd
To fortify thus far, and overlay
With this portentous bridge the dark abyss.
Thine now is all this world, thy virtue hath won
What thy hands builded not, thy wisdom gain'd
With odds what war hath lost, and fully aveng'd
Our foil in heav'n; here thou shalt monarch reign,
There didst not; there let him still victor sway,
As battel hath adjudg'd, from this new world
Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
Of all things, parted by th' empyreal bounds,
His quadrature, from thy orbicular world,
Or try thee now more dang'rous to his throne.
  Whom thus the prince of darkness answer'd glad.
Fair daughter, and thou son and grandchild both,
High proof ye now have giv'n to be the race
Of Satan, for I glory in the name,
Antagonist of heav'n's almighty King,
Amply have merited of me, of all
Th' infernal empire, that so near heav'n's door
Triumphal with triumphal act have met,
Mine with this glorious work, and made one realm
Hell and this world, one realm, one continent
Of easy thoroughfare. Therefore, while I

390 *act*] arch. *Bentl. MS.*

391 *one*] '*one* realm, one continent.' This is the genuine reading, but Fenton and Bentley read '*our* realm,' though Bentley places 'one' in the margin, as his conjecture. *Newton.*

Descend through darkness on your road with ease
To my associate powers, them to acquaint
With these successes, and with them rejoice,
You two this way, among these numerous orbs
All yours, right down to paradise descend;
There dwell and reign in bliss, thence on the earth
Dominion exercise and in the air,
Chiefly on man, sole lord of all declar'd;
Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
My substitutes I send ye, and create
Plenipotent on earth, of matchless might
Issuing from me: on your joint vigor now
My hold of this new kingdom all depends,
Through sin to death expos'd by my exploit.
If your joint power prevail, th' affairs of hell
No detriment need fear; go and be strong.

So saying he dismiss'd them, they with speed
Their course through thickest constellations held
Spreading their bane; the blasted stars look'd wan,
And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse
Then suffer'd. Th' other way Satan went down
The causey to hell gate: on either side
Disparted Chaos over built exclaim'd,
And with rebounding surge the bars assail'd,

397 *these*] In the first edition, 'those.'

408 *prevail*] In the second edition, 'prevails.'

412 *stars*] P. Fletcher's Locusts, p. 58.

——— 'Heaven shuts his eyes,
The starres look pale.' *Todd.*

417 *rebounding*] Virg. Geo. ii. p. 161.

——— 'Lucrinoque addita claustra;
Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.' *Newton.*

That scorn'd his indignation. Through the gate,
Wide open and unguarded, Satan pass'd,
And all about found desolate; for those
Appointed to sit there had left their charge,
Flown to the upper world; the rest were all
Far to the inland retir'd, about the walls
Of Pandæmonium, city and proud seat
Of Lucifer, so by allusion call'd,
Of that bright star to Satan paragon'd.
There kept their watch the legions, while the grand
In council sat, solicitous what chance
Might intercept their emperor sent, so he
Departing gave command, and they observ'd.
As when the Tartar from his Russian foe
By Astracan over the snowy plains
Retires, or Bactrian Sophy from the horns
Of Turkish crescent leaves all waste beyond
The realm of Aladule in his retreat
To Tauris or Casbeen: so these, the late
Heav'n-banish'd host, left desert utmost hell
Many a dark league, reduc'd in careful watch
Round their metropolis, and now expecting
Each hour their great adventurer from the search
Of foreign worlds: he thro' the midst unmark'd,
In show plebeian angel militant
Of lowest order, pass'd; and from the door
Of that Plutonian hall invisible
Ascended his high throne, which, under state

426 *paragon'd*] v. Othello, act. ii. sc. 1.
'That *paragons* description and wild fame.' *Todd.*

Of richest texture spread, at th' upper end
Was plac'd in regal lustre. Down a while
He sat, and round about him saw unseen:
At last as from a cloud his fulgent head
And shape star-bright appear'd, or brighter, clad
With what permissive glory since his fall
Was left him, or false glitter. All amaz'd
At that so sudden blaze the Stygian throng
Bent their aspect, and whom they wish'd beheld,
Their mighty chief return'd: loud was th' acclaim.
Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
Rais'd from their dark divan, and with like joy.
Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand
Silence, and with these words attention, won.
Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, pow-
For in possession such, not only of right, [ers,
I call ye and declare ye now, return'd
Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal pit

448 *unseen*] Tasso, Fairfax, vii. 36.
'Within a tarras sate on high the queen,
And heard, and *saw*, and kept herself *unseene*.' *Bowle.*
'Yet in such sorts as they might *see unseen*.' Sidney's *Arcadia*, vol. i. p. 234, ed. 1725. *A. Dyce.*

449 *fulgent*] v. Val. Flacc. v. 402, 466.
'——— Nebulamque erumpit Jason
Sideris ora ferens.'
Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 201.
'O miracle! whose *star-bright* beaming head.'

450 *star-bright*] v. Hom. Il. vi. ver. 295.
'Thy star-bright eyes.'
v. Ellis's Spec. ii. 381. (Smith's Chloris, 1596.)

Abominable, accurs'd, the house of woe,
And dungeon of our tyrant: now possess,
As lords, a spacious world, to our native heaven
Little inferior, by my adventure hard
With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell
What I have done, what suffer'd, with what pain
Voyag'd th' unreal, vast, unbounded deep
Of horrible confusion, over which
By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd
To expedite your glorious march: but I
Toil'd out my uncouth passage, forc'd to ride
Th' untractable abyss, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild,
That jealous of their secrets fiercely oppos'd
My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
Protesting fate supreme; thence how I found
The new created world, which fame in heav'n
Long had foretold, a fabric wonderful
Of absolute perfection, therein man
Plac'd in a paradise, by our exile
Made happy: him by fraud I have seduc'd
From his Creator, and, the more to increase
Your wonder, with an apple; he thereat
Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up
Both his beloved man and all his world
To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us,
Without our hazard, labour, or alarm,

484 *exile*] Milton always accentuates this word on the *last* syllable; Shakespeare uses it both ways; Chaucer and Spenser on the *last* syllable only. *Todd.*

To range in, and to dwell, and over man
To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.
True is, me also he hath judg'd, or rather
Me not, but the brute serpent, in whose shape
Man I deceiv'd: that which to me belongs
Is enmity, which he will put between
Me and mankind; I am to bruise his heel;
His seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head.
A world who would not purchase with a bruise,
Or much more grievous pain? Ye have th' account
Of my performance: what remains, ye gods,
But up and enter now into full bliss?
So having said, a while he stood, expecting
Their universal shout and high applause
To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
A dismal universal hiss, the sound
Of public scorn; he wonder'd, but not long
Had leisure, wond'ring at himself now more:
His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His arms clung to his ribs, his legs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
Reluctant, but in vain, a greater power
Now rul'd him, punish'd in the shape he sinn'd,
According to his doom. He would have spoke,
But hiss for hiss return'd with forked tongue
To forked tongue, for now were all transform'd
Alike, to serpents all as accessories
To his bold riot: dreadful was the din

Of hissing through the hall, thick swarming now
With complicated monsters head and tail,
Scorpion, and asp, and amphisbæna dire,
Cerastes horn'd, hydrus, and ellops drear,
And dipsas; not so thick swarm'd once the soil
Bedropp'd with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
Ophiusa; but still greatest he the midst,
Now dragon, grown larger than whom the sun
Ingender'd in the Pythian vale on slime,
Huge Python, and his power no less he seem'd
Above the rest still to retain. They all
Him follow'd issuing forth to th' open field,
Where all yet left of that revolted rout
Heav'n-fall'n in station stood or just array,
Sublime with expectation when to see
In triumph issuing forth their glorious chief:
They saw, but other sight instead, a crowd
Of ugly serpents; horror on them fell,
And horrid sympathy; for what they saw,
They felt themselves now changing: down their arms,
Down fell both spear and shield, down they as fast,
And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form
Catch'd by contagion, like in punishment,
As in their crime. Thus was th' applause they meant
Turn'd to exploding hiss, triumph to shame,

524 *asp*] v. Hagthorpe's Divine Meditations, p. 18.
'The aspe, and two-headed amphisbena,
The horned Cerastes, Alexandrian sckinke,
Dipsas and Drymas.'

Cast on themselves from their own mouths. There stood
A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
His will who reigns above, to aggravate
Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that
Which grew in paradise, the bait of Eve
Us'd by the tempter: on that prospect strange
Their earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining
For one forbidden tree a multitude
Now ris'n, to work them further woe or shame:
Yet parch'd with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,
But on they roll'd in heaps, and up the trees
Climbing sat thicker than the snaky locks
That curl'd Megæra: greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;
This more delusive not the touch, but taste
Deceiv'd; they, fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit

550 *fair*] 'Their penance laden with *fair* fruit, like that.' So the verse stood in the first ed. in the second 'fair' was omitted; other editions read,

'Their penance, laden with fruit, like *to* that.'

Tonson's ed. of 1711, and Tickell's of 1720, read '*patience*' for '*penance*,' which Fenton followed. The true reading is restored in ed. 1746 of Tonson.

565 *fruit*) See Solini Polyhist. c. xxxv. 'Pomum quod gignitur habeat licet specimen maturitatis, mandi tamen non potest, nam fuliginem intrinsicus favillaciam ambitio tantum extimæ cutis cohibet, quæ vel levi pressa tactu fumum exhalat, et fatiscit in vagum pulverem.'

Chew'd bitter ashes, which th' offended taste
With spattering noise rejected: oft they assay'd,
Hunger and thirst constraining, drugg'd as oft,
With hatefullest disrelish writh'd their jaws
With soot and cinders fill'd; so oft they fell
Into the same illusion, not as man [plagu'd
Whom they triumph'd once laps'd. Thus were they
And worn with famine long, and ceaseless hiss,
Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd,
Yearly enjoin'd, some say, to undergo
This annual humbling certain number'd days,
To dash their pride and joy for man seduc'd.
However, some tradition they dispers'd
Among the heathen of their purchase got,
And fabled how the serpent, whom they call'd
Ophion with Eurynome, the wide
Encroaching Eve perhaps, had first the rule
Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driv'n
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.
Meanwhile in paradise the hellish pair
Too soon arriv'd, Sin there in power before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death

572 *laps'd*] The meaning of this passage seems to be—The serpents *often fell* into the mistake of eating the fruit that was fair to the eye, but bitter to the taste; whereas man, over whom they triumphed, *only once lapsed*.

573 *long*] Milton's edition places a comma after famine, but Newton has improv'd the line by proposing it should be thus read

And worn with famine long, and ceaseless hiss.

Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse; to whom Sin thus began.
Second of Satan sprung, all conquering Death,
What think'st thou of our empire now, tho' earn'd
With travail difficult, not better far
Than still at hell's dark threshold to have sate watch
Unnam'd, undreaded, and thy self half starv'd?
Whom thus the sin-born monster answer'd soon.
To me, who with eternal famine pine,
Alike is hell, or paradise, or heaven,
There best, where most with ravin I may meet;
Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems
To stuff this maw, this vast unhide-bound corps.
To whom th' incestuous mother thus reply'd.
Thou therefore on these herbs, and fruits, and flowers
Feed first, on each beast next, and fish, and fowl,
No homely morsels, and whatever thing
The scythe of Time mows down, devour unspar'd,
Till I in man residing through the race,
His thoughts, his looks, words, actions, all infect;
And season him thy last and sweetest prey.
This said, they both betook them several ways,
Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for destruction to mature
Sooner or later; which th' Almighty seeing,

610 *betook*] so Stat. Theb. xi. 113, of the Furies.

Talia partitæ diversum abiere sorores.

. . . .

Illas ut summo vidit pater altus Olympo
Incestare diem, trepidumque Hyperionis orbem
Suffundi maculis, torvo sic inchoat ore.

From his transcendent seat the saints among,
To those bright orders utter'd thus his voice.
See with what heat these dogs of hell advance
To waste and havoc yonder world, which I
So fair and good created, and had still
Kept in that state, had not the folly of man
Let in these wasteful furies, who impute
Folly to me, so doth the prince of hell
And his adherents, that with so much ease
I suffer them to enter and possess
A place so heavenly, and conniving seem
To gratify my scornful enemies,
That laugh, as if, transported with some fit
Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
At random yielded up to their misrule;
And know not that I call'd and drew them thither
My hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth,
Which man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
On what was pure! till cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh [burst
With suck'd and glutted offal, at one sling
Of thy victorious arm, well-pleasing Son,
Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave, at last
Through Chaos hurl'd, obstruct the mouth of hell
For ever, and seal up his ravenous jaws.

616 *dogs*] See Ap. Rhod. Arg. iv. 1666.

θέλγε δὲ κῆρας
Θυμοβόρους, Ἀΐδαο θοὰς κύνας, ἃι περὶ πασον
Ἥρα δινεύουσαι ἐπὶ ζωῶισιν ἄγονται. *Todd.*

'Stygiosque canes.' Luc. Phars. vi. 733. *A. Dyce.*

631 *hath shed*] Fenton reads after Tickell, 'had shed.'

Then heav'n and earth renew'd shall be made pure
To sanctity that shall receive no stain:
Till then the curse pronounc'd on both precedes.
He ended, and the heav'nly audience loud
Sung Hallelujah, as the sound of seas,
Through multitude that sung: Just are thy ways;
Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works;
Who can extenuate thee? Next, to the Son,
Destin'd restorer of mankind, by whom
New heav'n and earth shall to the ages rise,
Or down from heav'n descend. Such was their song,
While the Creator calling forth by name
His mighty angels gave them several charge,
As sorted best with present things. The sun
Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
As might affect the earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
Decrepit winter, from the south to bring
Solstitial summer's heat. To the blanc moon
Her office they prescrib'd, to th' other five
Their planetary motions and aspects
In Sextile, Square, and Trine, and Opposite,

655 *Decrepit*] This expression occurs in Beamount and Fletcher's 'Wife for a Month.'

'*Decrepit Winter* hang upon my shoulders.' *Newton.*

656 *blanc moon*] Virg. Æn. vii. 8. 'Candida luna. Canzon. de Giustin. 1620, p. 12.

E *bianca Cintia* in negro ciel parea.' *Todd.*

659 *Sextile*] See Lisle's Du Bartas, p. 156.

'In tryangl' in quadrangle, or in *sextile* agglance.' and Wishart's Emanuel, p. 22, 52.

Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
In synod unbenign, and taught the fix'd
Their influence malignant when to show'r,
Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
Should prove tempestuous. To the winds they set
Their corners, when with bluster to confound
Sea, air, and shore; the thunder when to roll
With terror through the dark aëreal hall.
Some say, he bid his angels turn askance
The poles of earth twice ten degrees and more
From the sun's axle; they with labour push'd
Oblique the centric globe: some say, the sun
Was bid turn reins from th' equinoctial road
Like distant breadth to Taurus with the sev'n
Atlantic Sisters, and the Spartan Twins,
Up to the Tropic Crab; thence down amain
By Leo, and the Virgin, and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorn, to bring in change
Of seasons to each clime; else had the spring
Perpetual smil'd on earth with vernant flow'rs,
Equal in days and nights, except to those
Beyond the polar circles; to them day
Had unbenighted shone, while the low sun
To recompense his distance in their sight
Had rounded still th' horizon, and not known
Or east or west, which had forbid the snow
From cold Estotiland, and south as far
Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit

673 *to*] Bentley reads 'through Taurus;' an alteration which Pope and Newton have approved.

The sun, as from Thyestean banquet, turn'd
His course intended; else how had the world
Inhabited, though sinless, more than now
Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat?
These changes in the heav'ns, though slow, produc'd
Like change on sea and land, sideral blast,
Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,
Corrupt and pestilent. Now from the north
Of Norumbega and the Samoed shore,
Bursting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice,
And snow, and hail, and stormy gust, and flaw,
Boreas, and Cæcias, and Argestes loud,
And Thrascias rend the woods, and seas upturn;
With adverse blast upturns them from the south
Notus, and Afer black with thund'rous clouds
From Serraliona; thwart of these as fierce
Forth rush the Levant and the Ponent winds,
Eurus and Zephyr with their lateral noise,
Sirocco and Libecchio. Thus began
Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord first,
Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational
Death introduc'd through fierce antipathy:
Beast now with beast gan war, and fowl with fowl,

607 *arm'd*] Claud. de Rap. Pros. i. 69.

'Ceu turbine rauco
Cum gravis *armatur Boreas*, glacieque nivali.'

Richardson.

693 *gust*] Shakesp. Venus and Adonis.

'Like a red morn that ever yet betoken'd
Gust, and foul *flaws* to herdsmen, and to herds.'

Newton.

And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving
Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe
Of man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim
Glar'd on him passing. These were from without
The growing miseries, which Adam saw
Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
To sorrow abandon'd, but worse felt within,
And, in a troubled sea of passion tost,
Thus to disburden sought with sad complaint.
O miserable of happy! is this the end
Of this new glorious world, and me so late
The glory of that glory, who now become
Accurs'd of blessed? Hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
Of happiness: yet well, if here would end
The misery, I deserv'd it, and would bear
My own deservings; but this will not serve;
All that I eat, or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated curse. O voice once heard
Delightfully, Encrease and multiply,
Now death to hear! for what can I encrease
Or multiply, but curses on my head?
Who of all ages to succeed, but feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curse
My head? Ill fare our ancestor impure,
For this we may thank Adam; but his thanks
Shall be the execration; so besides
Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
Shall with a fierce reflux on me redound,
On me, as on their natural center, light

Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys
Of paradise, dear bought with lasting woes!
Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay,
To mould me man? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me, or here place
In this delicious garden? As my will
Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign, and render back
All I receiv'd, unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I sought not. To the loss of that,
Sufficient penalty, why hast thou added
The sense of endless woes? Inexplicable
Thy justice seems; yet, to say truth, too late
I thus contest: then should have been refus'd
These terms, whatever, when they were propos'd.
Thou didst accept them; wilt thou enjoy the good,
Then cavil the conditions? and though God
Made thee without thy leave, what if thy son
Prove disobedient, and reprov'd retort,
Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not:
Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,
But natural necessity begot.
God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
To serve him, thy reward was of his grace,
Thy punishment then justly is at his will.

766 *God made thee of choice*] 'Thee God made freely.' *Bentl. MS.*

Be it so, for I submit, his doom is fair,
That dust I am, and shall to dust return:
O welcome hour whenever! why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? why do I overlive?
Why am I mock'd with death, and lengthen'd out
To deathless pain? how gladly would I meet
Mortality my sentence, and be earth
Insensible! how glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap? there I should rest
And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worse
To me and to my offspring would torment me
With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die,
Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man
Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish

773 *meet*] So in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius, p. 60.

'—— Tellus, concavos aperi sinus!
Cur non dehiscis? aut in Acheruntis plagam
Te, nosque mergis? Gemina compages soli
Pateat revulsa! Quaque stamus noxii,
Opaca tellus corpora absorbat duo!'

778 *mother's lap*] 'In ipso gremio terræ matris.' Apulei Apolog. vol. i. p. 540, ed. Delph. See Liv. Hist. i. 56. Ovid. Fast. ii. 713, Metam. iii. 125,

'Sanguineam trepido plangebant pectore matrem.'

783 *all*] Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 1061.

πάντως ἐμέ γ' οὐ θανατώσει.

and Hor. Od. iii. xxx. 6. 'Non omnis moriar.'

Newton, Todd.

With this corporeal clod; then in the grave,
Or in some other dismal place, who knows
But I shall die a living death? O thought
Horrid, if true! yet why? it was but breath
Of life that sinn'd; what dies but what had life
And sin? the body properly hath neither.
All of me then shall die; let this appease
The doubt, since human reach no further knows
For though the Lord of all be infinite,
Is his wrath also? be it, man is not so,
But mortal doom'd. How can he exercise
Wrath without end on man whom death must end?
Can he make deathless death? that were to make
Strange contradiction, which to God himself
Impossible is held, as argument
Of weakness, not of power. Will he draw out,
For anger's sake, finite to infinite
In punish'd man, to satisfy his rigour
Satisfy'd never? that were to extend
His sentence beyond dust and nature's law,
By which all causes else according still
To the reception of their matter act,
Not to th' extent of their own sphere. But say,
That death be not one stroke, as I suppos'd,
Bereaving sense, but endless misery
From this day onward, which I feel begun
Both in me, and without me, and so last
To perpetuity. Ay me! that fear
Comes thund'ring back with dreadful revolution
On my defenceless head; both death and I

Are found eternal, and incorporate both;
Nor I on my part single, in me all
Posterity stands curs'd. Fair patrimony
That I must leave ye, sons; O were I able
To waste it all myself, and leave ye none!
So disinherited, how would ye bless
Me, now your curse! Ah! why should all mankind
For one man's fault thus guiltless be condemn'd,
If guiltless? But from me what can proceed,
But all corrupt, both mind and will deprav'd,
Not to do only, but to will the same
With me? how can they then acquitted stand
In sight of God? Him after all disputes
Forc'd I absolve: all my evasions vain
And reasonings, tho' through mazes, lead me still
But to my own conviction: first and last
On me, me only, as the source and spring
Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
So might the wrath! Fond wish! couldst thou support
That burden heavier than the earth to bear,
Than all the world much heavier, though divided
With that bad woman? Thus what thou desir'st,
And what thou fear'st, alike destroys all hope
Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
Beyond all past example and future,

816 *Are*] This is Bentley's conjecture, now received into the text; all the editions previously read 'Am.'

840 *future*] *v.* Fairfax's Tasso, cxvii. 88.

'But not by art, or skill, of things future
Can the plaine troath revealed be, and told.' *Newton.*

To Satan only like both crime and doom.
O Conscience, into what abyss of fears
And horrors hast thou driv'n me, out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!
Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the still night, not now, as ere man fell,
Wholesome, and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompany'd, with damps and dreadful gloom,
Which to his evil conscience represented
All things with double terror. On the ground
Outstretch'd he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Curs'd his creation, death as oft accus'd
Of tardy execution, since denounc'd
The day of his offence. Why comes not death,
Said he, with one thrice acceptable stroke
To end me? Shall truth fail to keep her word,
Justice divine not hasten to be just?
But death comes not at call, justice divine
Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.
O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and bow'rs,
With other echo late I taught your shades

851 *cold ground*] v. Sp. F. Queen. iii. iv. 53.

' The *cold earth* was his couch.'

and vi. iv. 40.

' On the *cold ground* maugre himself he threw.' *Todd.*

854 *death*] So Sophocl. Philoctetes. 793.

Ὦ θανατε, θάνατε, πῶς ἀεὶ καλούμενος
Οὕτω κἀτ ἦμαρ, οὐ δύνη μολεῖν ποτέ. *Newton.*

860 *hillocks*] Fenton proposes to read ' hills, rocks.'

861 *shades*] ' Caves.' *Bentl. MS.* iv. 257.

To answer, and resound far other song.
Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,
Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd:
But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.
Out of my sight, thou serpent, that name best
Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyself as false
And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
Like his, and colour serpentine may show
Thy inward fraud, to warn all creatures from thee
Henceforth; lest that too heav'nly form, pretended
To hellish falsehood, snare them. But for thee
I had persisted happy, had not thy pride
And wand'ring vanity, when least was safe,
Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
Not to be trusted, longing to be seen
Though by the devil himself, him overweening
To over-reach; but with the serpent meeting,
Fool'd and beguil'd, by him thou, I by thee,
To trust thee from my side, imagin'd wise,
Constant, mature, proof against all assaults,
And understood not all was but a show
Rather than solid virtue, all but a rib
Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,
More to the part sinister from me drawn,
Well if thrown out, as supernumerary

872 *pretended*] As in the Latin Tongue, signifies 'placed before.' Virg. Georg. i. 270. 'Segeti *prætendere* sepem. and Æn. vi. 60. *Pearce.*

To my just number found. Oh! why did God,
Creator wise, that peopled highest heav'n
With spirits masculine, create at last
This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of nature, and not fill the world at once
With men as angels without feminine,
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind? This mischief had not then befall'n,
And more that shall befall, innumerable
Disturbances on earth through female snares,
And straight conjunction with this sex: for either
He never shall find out fit mate, but such
As some misfortune brings him, or mistake,
Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
Through her perverseness; but shall see her
gain'd
By a far worse, or if she love, withheld
By parents, or his happiest choice too late
Shall meet, already link'd and wedlock-bound
To a fell adversary, his hate or shame;
Which infinite calamity shall cause
To human life, and household peace confound.
He added not, and from her turn'd; but Eve
Not so repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing,
And tresses all disorder'd, at his feet
Fell humble, and, embracing them, besought
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

888 *God*] Compare Euripidis Hippolytus, v. 616; and Medea. v. 573; and Ariosto Orl. Fur. c. xxvii. st. 120. *Newton.*

Forsake me not thus, Adam, witness heav'n
What love sincere and reverence in my heart
I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
Unhappily deceiv'd; thy suppliant
I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
My only strength and stay: forlorn of thee,
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace, both joining,
As join'd in injuries, one enmity
Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,
That cruel serpent. On me exercise not
Thy hatred for this misery befall'n,
On me already lost, me than thy self

914 *Forsake me not*] So in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius, p. 64, Eve says,

'Per sancta thalami sacra, per jus nominis
Quodcunque nostri, sive me natam vocas,
Ex te creatam, sive communi Patre
Ortam, sororem, sive potius conjugem,
Ne me relinquas. Nunc tuo auxilio est opus,
Cum versa sors est. Unicum lapsæ mihi
Firmamen; unam spem gravi adflictæ malo.'

921 *forlorn*] Ov. Met. i. 358.

'Quid tibi, si sine me fatis erepta fuisses,
Nunc animi, miseranda, foret? quo sola timorem
Ferre modo posses? quo consolante doleres?
Namque ego, crede mihi, si te modo pontus haberet
Te sequerer, conjux.'

925 *one enmity*] Bentley reads '*in* enmity,' which reading Newton thinks not improbable.

More miserable; both have sinn'd, but thou
Against God only, I against God and thee,
And to the place of judgment will return,
There with my cries importune heaven, that all
The sentence, from thy head remov'd, may light
On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
Me, me only just object of his ire.
She ended weeping, and her lowly plight,
Immoveable till peace obtain'd from fault
Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought
Commiseration; soon his heart relented
Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress,
Creature so fair his reconcilement seeking,
His counsel, whom she had displeas'd, his aid;
As one disarm'd, his anger all he lost,
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.
Unwary and too desirous as before,
So now of what thou know'st not, who desir'st
The punishment all on thy self; alas,
Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain
His full wrath, whose thou feel'st as yet least part,
And my displeasure bear'st so ill. If prayers
Could alter high decrees, I to that place
Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
That on my head all might be visited,
Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiv'n,
To me committed, and by me expos'd.

931 *I against*] So Grotii Adamus Exsul. p. 65.
'——— Ego duplex feci nefas,
Cum fallor et cum fallo.'

But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but strive
In offices of love how we may lighten
Each other's burden in our share of woe;
Since this day's death denounc'd, if aught I see,
Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac'd evil,
A long day's dying to augment our pain,
And to our seed, O hapless seed! deriv'd.
To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, reply'd.
Adam, by sad experiment I know
How little weight my words with thee can find,
Found so erroneous, thence by just event
Found so unfortunate; nevertheless,
Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart
Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
What thoughts in my unquiet breast are ris'n,
Tending to some relief of our extremes,
Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
As in our evils, and of easier choice.
If care of our descent perplex us most,
Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd
By Death at last, and miserable it is
To be to others cause of misery,
Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
Into this cursed world a woful race,
That after wretched life must be at last

981 *it is*] Todd remarks, that a parenthesis commences at the words 'and miserable it is,' and comes down to 'so foul a monster,' ver. 986.

Food for so foul a monster, in thy power
It lies, yet ere conception to prevent
The race unblest, to being yet unbegot.
Childless thou art, childless remain: so Death
Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two
Be forc'd to satisfy his rav'nous maw.
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
From love's due rites, nuptial embraces sweet,
And with desire to languish without hope,
Before the present object languishing
With like desire, which would be misery,
And torment less than none of what we dread,
Then both ourselves and seed at once to free
From what we fear for both, let us make short,
Let us seek Death, or, he not found, supply
With our own hands his office on ourselves:

987 *conception*] 'Why not conception already, since he has mentioned copulation twice?' *Bentl. MS.*

989 In Milton's own editions, and in others, this and the following line are thus printed

Childless thou art, childless remain,
So death shall be deceived his glut, and with us two, &c.

This error went through both Milton's editions; and it was one that when the poem was read to him, his *ear alone* could not detect; but the continuance of it does not speak much in favour of the knowledge or attention of those who *read to him*.

1001 *supply*] So in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius, p. 61.

'——— Quid mihi exsequias nego?
Quid pereo vivus? quid meos manes moror?
——— Tu manus! potius veni
Ministra pœnæ, quæ fuisti criminum.'

Why stand we longer shivering under fears,
That show no end but death, and have the power,
Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,
Destruction with destruction to destroy?
She ended here, or vehement despair
Broke off the rest; so much of death her thoughts
Had entertain'd, as dy'd her cheeks with pale.
But Adam, with such counsel nothing sway'd,
To better hopes his more attentive mind
Labouring had rais'd, and thus to Eve reply'd.
Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
To argue in thee something more sublime
And excellent than what thy mind contemns;
But self-destruction therefore sought refutes
That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd.
Or if thou covet death, as utmost end
Of misery, so thinking to evade
The penalty pronounc'd, doubt not but God
Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire than so
To be forestall'd: much more I fear lest death
So snatch'd will not exempt us from the pain
We are by doom to pay: rather such acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
To make death in us live: then let us seek

1009 *pale*] Virg. Æn. iv. 499.

'Hæc effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.' *Jortin.*
Compare Æn. iv. 644. Lucan, vii. 130. *Hume.*

Some safer resolution, which methinks
I have in view, calling to mind with heed
Part of our sentence, that thy seed shall bruise
The serpent's head: piteous amends, unless
Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe
Satan, who in the serpent hath contriv'd
Against us this deceit. To crush his head
Would be revenge indeed; which will be lost
By death brought on our selves, or childless days
Resolv'd, as thou proposest; so our foe
Shall scape his punishment ordain'd, and we
Instead shall double ours upon our heads.
No more be mention'd then of violence
Against our selves, and wilful barrenness,
That cuts us off from hope, and savours only
Rancour and pride, impatience and despite,
Reluctance against God and his just yoke
Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd
Without wrath or reviling; we expected
Immediate dissolution, which we thought
Was meant by death that day, when, lo! to thee
Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth, soon recompens'd with joy,
Fruit of thy womb: on me the curse aslope
Glanc'd on the ground, with labour I must earn
My bread; what harm? idleness had been worse;
My labour will sustain me; and lest cold
Or heat should injure us, his timely care
Hath unbesought provided, and his hands

Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd.
How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pity incline,
And teach us further by what means to shun
Th' inclement seasons, rain, ice, hail, and snow,
Which now the sky with various face begins
To show us in this mountain, while the winds
Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
Of these fair spreading trees, which bids us seek
Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
Our limbs benumb'd, ere this diurnal star
Leave cold the night, how we his gather'd beams
Reflected may with matter sere foment,
Or by collision of two bodies grind
The air attrite to fire, as late the clouds
Justling or push'd with winds rude in their shock
Tine the slant lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n
Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine, [down
And sends a comfortable heat from far,
Which might supply the sun. Such fire to use,
And what may else be remedy or cure
To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought;
He will instruct us praying, and of grace

1071 *foment*] Virg. Æn. i. 175.

'Suscepitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum
Nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in *fomite* flammam.'

Hume.

1073 *fire*] 'Be *tired* with holy fire.' Quarles' Emblems, p. 293.

1076 *or pine*] Fenton and Bentley read '*and* pine.'

Beseeching him, so as we need not fear
To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd
By him with many comforts, till we end
In dust, our final rest and native home.
What better can we do, than, to the place
Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confess
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd and humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent and turn
From his displeasure, in whose look serene,
When angry most he seem'd and most severe,
What else but favour, grace, and mercy shone?
So spake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confess'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd and humiliation meek.

1091 *Frequenting*] Tempesting. *Bentl. MS.* so in line 1103.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in paradise; sends Michael with a band of cherubim to dispossess them; but first to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs; he discerns Michael's approach; goes out to meet him: the angel denounces their departure. Eve's lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits: the angel leads him up to a high hill; sets before him in vision what shall happen till the flood.

THUS they in lowliest plight repentant stood
Praying, for from the mercy-seat above
Prevenient grace descending had remov'd
The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breath'd
Unutterable, which the spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for heav'n with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory: yet their port
Not of mean suitors, nor important less
Seem'd their petition, than when th' ancient pair
In fables old, less ancient yet than these,

11 *In fables old*] Fables told this. *Bentl. MS.*

Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha to restore
The race of mankind drown'd before the shrine
Of Themis stood devout. To heav'n their prayers
Flew up, nor miss'd the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd
Dimensionless through heav'nly doors; then clad
With incense, where the golden altar fum'd,
By their great Intercessor, came in sight
Before the Father's throne: them the glad Son
Presenting thus to intercede began.

See, Father, what first fruits on earth are sprung
From thy implanted grace in man, these sighs
And prayers, which, in this golden censer mix'd
With incense, I thy priest before thee bring,
Fruits of more pleasing savour from thy seed
Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
Which his own hand manuring all the trees
Of paradise could have produc'd, ere fall'n
From innocence. Now therefore bend thine ear
To supplication, hear his sighs though mute;
Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
Interpret for him, me his advocate
And propitiation; all his works on me
Good or not good ingraft, my merit those
Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay.
Accept me, and in me from these receive
The smell of peace toward mankind, let him live

[15] *envious*] Ov. Met. x. 642.

Detulit *aura* preces ad me non *invida* blandas.

Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days
Number'd, though sad, till death his doom, which I
To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse,
To better life shall yield him, where with me
All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss;
Made one with me as I with thee am one.

To whom the Father, without cloud, serene.
All thy request for man, accepted Son,
Obtain, all thy request was my decree:
But longer in that paradise to dwell
The law I gave to nature him forbids:
Those pure immortal elements, that know
No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
Eject him tainted now, and purge him off
As a distemper, gross to air as gross,
And mortal food, as may dispose him best
For dissolution wrought by sin, that first
Distemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
Corrupted. I at first with two fair gifts
Created him endow'd, with happiness
And immortality: that fondly lost,
This other serv'd but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death; so death becomes
His final remedy, and after life
Try'd in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
By faith and faithful works, to second life,
Wak'd in the renovation of the just,
Resigns him up with heav'n and earth renew'd.
But let us call to synod all the blest
Thro' heav'n's wide bounds; from them I will not [hide

My judgments, how with mankind I proceed,
As how with peccant angels late they saw;
And in their state, tho' firm, stood more confirm'd.
He ended, and the Son gave signal high
To the bright minister that watch'd; he blew
His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
When God descended, and perhaps once more
To sound at general doom. Th' angelic blast
Fill'd all the regions: from their blissful bow'rs
Of Amarantin shade, fountain or spring,
By the waters of life, where ere they sat
In fellowships of joy, the sons of light
Hasted, resorting to the summons high,
And took their seats; till from his throne supreme
Th' Almighty thus pronounc'd his sov'reign will.
O Sons, like one of us man is become
To know both good and evil, since his taste
Of that defended fruit; but let him boast
His knowledge of good lost, and evil got;
Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known
Good by it self, and evil not at all.
He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite,
My motions in him, longer than they move,
His heart I know how variable and vain
Self-left. Lest therefore his now bolder hand
Reach also of the Tree of Life, and eat,
And live for ever, dream at least to live
For ever, to remove him I decree,
And send him from the garden forth to till
The ground whence he was taken, fitter soil.

Michael, this my behest have thou in charge,
Take to thee from among the Cherubim
Thy choice of flaming warriors, lest the fiend,
Or in behalf of man, or to invade
Vacant possession, some new trouble raise:
Haste thee, and from the paradise of God
Without remorse drive out the sinful pair,
From hallow'd ground th' unholy, and denounce
To them and to their progeny from thence
Perpetual banishment. Yet lest they faint
At the sad sentence rigorously urg'd,
For I behold them soften'd and with tears
Bewailing their excess, all terror hide.
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveal
To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten; intermix
My cov'nant in the woman's seed renew'd;
So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace:
And on the east side of the garden place,

105 *drive out*] See Adamus Exsul of Grotii, p. 72.

'Vos ergo, Cherubi Cœlites! mihi quos ego
Legi Ministros, ite! et horto pellite
Par istud hominum! Sacra deliciis loca
Miseri relinquant! alia telluris sola
Glebasque quærant, et parentem exerceant!'

111 *excess*] Eve's intemperance. Spens. ii. 12. *Bentl. MS.*

118 *And on the east*] See Adamus Exsul of Grotius, p. 72.

'Vos state in aditu nemoris, ortivam ad plagam,
Et impedite flammeo versatilis
Mucrone teli, ne quis infigat pedem!'

Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
Cherubic watch, and of a sword the flame
Wide waving, all approach far off to fright,
And guard all passage to the Tree of Life:
Lest paradise a receptacle prove
To spirits foul, and all my trees their prey,
With whose stol'n fruit man once more to delude.
He ceas'd; and th' archangelic pow'r prepar'd
For swift descent, with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
Had, like a double Janus; all their shape
Spangled with eyes more numerous than those
Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drouze,
Charm'd with Arcadian Pipe, the pastoral reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Mean while,
To resalute the world with sacred light
Leucothea wak'd, and with fresh dews imbalm'd
The earth, when Adam and first matron Eve
Had ended now their orisons, and found
Strength added from above, new hope to spring
Out of despair, joy, but with fear yet link'd;
Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd.
Eve, easily may faith admit, that all
The good which we enjoy from heav'n descends;
But that from us aught should ascend to heav'n
So prevalent as to concern the mind
Of God high-bless'd, or to incline his will,
Hard to belief may seem; yet this will prayer,
Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne

[131] *Of*] 'Of fabled Argus, wakeful not to drouze.' *Bentl. MS.*

Ev'n to the seat of God. For since I sought
By prayer th' offended Deity to appease,
Kneel'd and before him humbled all my heart,
Methought I saw him placable and mild,
Bending his ear: persuasion in me grew
That I was heard with favour; peace return'd
Home to my breast, and to my memory
His promise, that thy seed shall bruise our foe;
Which, then not minded in dismay, yet now
Assures me that the bitterness of death
Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee,
Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind,
Mother of all things living, since by thee
Man is to live, and all things live for man.

To whom thus Eve with sad demeanour meek.
Ill worthy I such title should belong
To me transgressor, who, for thee ordain'd
A help, became thy snare: to me reproach
Rather belongs, distrust, and all dispraise:
But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
That I, who first brought death on all, am grac'd
The source of life; next favourable thou,
Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'st,
Far other name deserving. But the field
To labour calls us now with sweat impos'd,
Though after sleepless night; for see, the morn,
All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins

174 *begins*] Shakesp. Hen. IV. p. i. act iii. sc. 1.

——— 'The heavenly-harness'd team
Begins his golden *progress* in the east.'

Newton.

Her rosy progress smiling; let us forth,
I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
Where'er our day's work lies, though now enjoin'd
Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks?
Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content.

So spake, so wish'd much-humbled Eve; but fate
Subscrib'd not; nature first gave signs, impress'd
On bird, beast, air, air suddenly eclips'd
After short blush of morn: nigh in her sight
The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tow'r,
Two birds of gayest plume before him drove:
Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,
First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,
Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind;
Direct to th' eastern gate was bent their flight.
Adam observ'd, and, with his eye the chase
Pursuing, not unmov'd to Eve thus spake.

O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
Which heav'n by these mute signs in nature shows
Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn
Us haply too secure of our discharge
From penalty, because from death releas'd
Some days; how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows, or more than this, that we are dust,
And thither must return and be no more?
Why else this double object in our sight

[182] *Subscrib'd*] Shakespeare's Meas. for Meas. act ii. sc. 4.

'Admit no other way to save his life,
As *I subscribe* not that.' *Upton.*

Of flight pursu'd in th' air, and o'er the ground,
One way the selfsame hour? Why in the east
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning light
More orient in yon western cloud, that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heav'nly fraught?

He err'd not, for by this the heav'nly bands
Down from a sky of jasper lighted now
In paradise, and on a hill made halt,
A glorious apparition, had not doubt
And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
Not that more glorious, when the angels met
Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright;
Nor that which on the flaming mount appear'd
In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,

214 *morning light*] So in the Adamus Exsul of Grotius, p. 73. Eve says,

'Quis subitus ardor iste? quæ lux emicat?
Corripuit hortum flamma, et excelsæ arbores
Ardent sine igne, fervidumque incendium
Trepide vagatur: qualibus cœlum nitet
Illustre facibus, integrum flagrat nemus.
Fugiamus æstus! ista divinæ manus
Sunt opera, quæ nos ire in exsilium jubet.'

205 *draws*] So D. Heinsius;

'Rubore cœlum prævio Aurora imbuit,
Primamque puræ purpuram *nubes trahunt*.'

Herodes, p. 220.

215 *pavilion'd*] Shakesp. Henry V. act i. sc. 2.

'And lie *pavilion'd* in the fields of France.' *Bowle.*

Against the Syrian king, who to surprise
One man assassin-like had levy'd war,
War unproclaim'd. The princely hierarch
In their bright stand there left his powers to seise
Possession of the garden; he alone,
To find where Adam shelter'd, took his way,
Not unperceiv'd of Adam, who to Eve,
While the great visitant approach'd, thus spake.
Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will soon determine, or impose
New laws to be observ'd; for I descry
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill
One of the heav'nly host, and by his gait
None of the meanest, some great potentate,
Or of the thrones above, such majesty
Invests him coming; yet not terrible,
That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
As Raphael, that I should much confide,
But solemn and sublime, whom not to offend
With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.
He ended; and th' archangel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape celestial, but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flow'd,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old

232 *Or*] Lord of the Thrones above. *Bentl. MS.*

242 *Melibœan*] Virg. Æn. V. 251.

'*Purpura* mæandro duplici *Melibœa* cucurrit.'

and Georg. ii. 506. '*Sarrano* indormiat *ostro*.' *Hume.*

in time of truce; Iris had dipp'd the woof;
His starry helm unbuckled show'd him prime
In manhood where youth ended; by his side
As in a glistering zodiac hung the sword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the spear.
Adam bow'd low, he kingly from his state
Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd.

Adam, heav'n's high behest no preface needs:
Sufficient that thy prayers are heard, and death,
Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,
Defeated of his seisure many days
Giv'n thee of grace, wherein thou may'st repent,
And one bad act with many deeds well done
May'st cover: well may then thy Lord appeas'd
Redeem thee quite from death's rapacious claim;
But longer in this paradise to dwell
Permits not: to remove thee I am come,
And send thee from the garden forth to till
The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.

He added not, for Adam at the news
Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
That all his senses bound; Eve, who unseen
Yet all had heard, with audible lament
Discover'd soon the place of her retire.

O unexpected stroke, worse than of death!

250 *Inclin'd*] See Spens. F. Qu. V. ix. 34.

'To whom she eke *inclyning* her withall.'

and Fairfax's Tasso, ix. 60. *Bowle.*

254 *gripe*] Browne's Brit. Pas. B. i. s. iii.

'Free from the *gripes of sorrow* every one.' *Todd.*

Must I thus leave thee, paradise? thus leave
Thee, native soil, these happy walks and shades,
Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,
Quiet though sad, the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both. O flow'rs,
That never will in other climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At ev'n, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye names,
Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from th' ambrosial fount?
Thee lastly, nuptial bow'r, by me adorn'd
With what to sight or smell was sweet; from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure
And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits?
Whom thus the angel interrupted mild.
Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign
What justly thou hast lost; nor set thy heart,
Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine:
Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes

273 *O flow'rs*] See Ovidii Metam. V. 399, of Proserpine.

'Collecti flores tunicis cecidere remissis:
Tantaque simplicitas puerilibus adfuit annis,
Hæc quoque virgineum movit jactura dolorem.'

280 *nuptial*] Compare Euripidis Alcestis, v. 247.

Γαῖα τε, καὶ μελάθρων στέγαι
Νυμφιδιαι τε κοιται
Πατρίας Ἰωλκου. *Todd.*

Thy husband, him to follow thou art bound;
Where he abides, think there thy native soil.
Adam, by this from the cold sudden damp
Recovering, and his scatter'd spirits return'd,
To Michael thus his humble words address'd.
Celestial, whether among the thrones, or nam'd
Of them the highest, for such of shape may seem
Prince above princes, gently hast thou told
Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
And in performing end us; what besides
Of sorrow, and dejection, and despair,
Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring,
Departure from this happy place, our sweet
Recess, and only consolation left
Familiar to our eyes, all places else
Inhospitable appear and desolate,
Nor knowing us nor known; and if by prayer
Incessant I could hope to change the will
Of him who all things can, I would not cease
To weary him with my assiduous cries.
But prayer against his absolute decree
No more avails than breath against the wind,
Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth:
Therefore to his great bidding I submit.
This most afflicts me, that departing hence
As from his face I shall be hid, depriv'd
His blessed count'nance; here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place, where he vouchsaf'd

310 *weary*] So Hor. Od. i. ii. 26. 'Prece qua fatigent.' *Todd.*

Presence divine, and to my sons relate;
On this mount he appear'd, under this tree
Stood visible, among these pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd:
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory,
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling gums, and fruits, and flow'rs:
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footstep trace?
For though I fled him angry, yet, recall'd
To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and far off his steps adore.
To whom thus Michael with regard benign.
Adam, thou know'st heav'n his, and all the earth,
Not this rock only; his omnipresence fills
Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power and warm'd:
All th' earth he gave thee to possess and rule,
No despicable gift; surmise not then
His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
Of paradise or Eden: this had been
Perhaps thy capital seat, from whence had spread

325 *memory*] So Beaum. and Fletch. D. Marriage, act ii. sc. i.

'The *memory* and *monuments* of good men
Are more than lives.' *Todd.*

All generations, and had hither come
From all the ends of th' earth, to celebrate
And reverence thee their great progenitor.
But this preeminence thou hast lost, brought down
To dwell on even ground now with thy sons:
Yet doubt not but in valley and in plain
God is as here, and will be found alike
Present, and of his presence many a sign
Still following thee, still compassing thee round
With goodness and paternal love, his face
Express, and of his steps the track divine.
Which that thou mayst believe, and be confirm'd
Ere thou from hence depart, know, I am sent
To show thee what shall come in future days
To thee and to thy offspring; good with bad
Expect to hear, supernal grace contending
With sinfulness of men; thereby to learn
True patience, and to temper joy with fear
And pious sorrow, equally inur'd
By moderation either state to bear,
Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead
Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure
Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend
This hill, let Eve, for I have drench'd her eyes,
Here sleep below, while thou to foresight wak'st,
As once thou slept'st, while she to life was form'd.
To whom thus Adam gratefully reply'd.
Ascend, I follow thee, safe guide, the path

344 *hither*] So the first ed. read,—*thither* most of the later. *Newton.*

Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of heav'n submit,
However chast'ning, to the evil turn
My obvious breast, arming to overcome
By suffering, and earn rest from labour won,
If so I may attain. So both ascend
In the visions of God. It was a hill
Of paradise the highest, from whose top
The hemisphere of earth in clearest ken
Stretch'd out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.
Not higher that hill nor wider looking round,
Whereon for different cause the tempter set
Our second Adam in the wilderness,
To show him all earth's kingdoms and their glory.
His eye might there command wherever stood
City of old or modern fame, the seat
Of mightiest empire, from the destin'd walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin of Sinæan kings, and thence
To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul,
Down to the golden Chersonese, or where
The Persian in Ecbatan sat, or since
In Hispahan, or where the Russian Czar
In Mosco, or the Sultan in Bizance,
Turchestan-born; nor could his eye not ken

374 *arming*] Aiming. *Bentl. MS.*

375 *suffering*] Virg. Æn. V. 710.

'Quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.'
Hume.

Th' empire of Negus to his utmost port
Ercoco, and the less maritime kings
Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala thought Ophir, to the realm
Of Congo, and Angola farthest south;
Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount
The kingdoms of Almansor, Fez, and Sus,
Marocco, and Algiers, and Tremisen;
Or Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
The world: in spirit perhaps he also saw
Rich Mexico the seat of Motezume,
And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoil'd
Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons
Call El Dorado: but to nobler sights
Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,
Which that false fruit that promis'd clearer sight
Had bred; then purg'd with euphrasy and rue
The visual nerve, for he had much to see;
And from the well of life three drops instill'd.
So deep the power of these ingredients pierc'd,
Ev'n to the inmost seat of mental sight,

397 *Negus*] See Lisle's Du Bartas, p. 115.

400 *Sofala*] See Bentleii Epist. ed. Burneii, p. 105, and Bruce's Travels, vol. ii. p. 362.

412 *film*] See Dante Il Purgat. i. 96.

'Va' dunque, e fa', che tu costui ricinga
D' un giunco schietto, e che gli lavi 'l viso,
Sì ch' ogni sucidume quindi stinga.'

418 *mental sight*] Pulci, c. xxv. st. 308.

'Ora all' *occhio mentale* è conceduto
Di riveder cio che tu hai veduto.' *Bowle.*

That Adam, now enforc'd to close his eyes,
Sunk down, and all his spirits became intranc'd:
But him the gentle angel by the hand
Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.

Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In some to spring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted tree, nor with the snake conspir'd,
Nor sinn'd thy sin; yet from that sin derive
Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.

His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
New reap'd, the other part sheep-walks and folds:
I' th' midst an altar as the land-mark stood,
Rustic, of grassy sord; thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought
First fruits, the green ear, and the yellow sheaf,
Uncull'd, as came to hand; a shepherd next
More meek came with the firstlings of his flock
Choicest and best; then sacrificing laid
The inwards and their fat, with incense strew'd,
On the cleft wood, and all due rites perform'd.
His off'ring soon propitious fire from heav'n
Consum'd with nimble glance, and grateful steam;
The other's not, for his was not sincere:

[433] *sord*] So in Shakesp. Winter's Tale. (ed. folio. 1623, p. 292.) 'Ran on the greene-sord.' Fenton prints 'sod;' which all succeeding editions adopted, till Newton restored the original word; except that Bentley printed it (very affectedly, says Newton) *swerd*. *Todd.*

[435] *green*] Brown. *Bentl. MS.*

Whereat he inly rag'd, and, as they talk'd,
Smote him into the midriff with a stone
That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale
Groan'd out his soul with gushing blood effus'd.
Much at that sight was Adam in his heart
Dismay'd, and thus in haste to th' angel cry'd.
O teacher, some great mischief hath befall'n
To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd;
Is piety thus and pure devotion paid?
T' whom Michael thus, he also mov'd, reply'd.
These two are brethren, Adam, and to come
Out of thy loins; th' unjust the just hath slain,
For envy that his brother's offering found
From heav'n acceptance; but the bloody fact
Will be aveng'd, and th' other's faith approv'd
Lose no reward, though here thou see him die,
Rolling in dust and gore. To which our sire.
Alas, both for the deed and for the cause!
But have I now seen Death? is this the way
I must return to native dust? O sight
Of terror, foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!
To whom thus Michael. Death thou hast seen
In his first shape on man; but many shapes

467 *many shapes*] Compare A. Ramsæi Poem. Sacr. vol. i. p. 61. '————O quot millia mittent
Rupis inaccessæ prærupta cacumina Letho.'
and the following lines.

467 *many*] Seneca Phœn. I. 151.
'Ubique mors est,——
——Mille ad hanc aditus patent.' *Newton.*

Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
To his grim cave, all dismal; yet to sense
More terrible at th' entrance than within.
Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
In meats and drinks, which on the earth shall bring
Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
Before thee shall appear; that thou may'st know
What misery th' inabstinence of Eve
Shall bring on men. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark,
A lazar-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
Numbers of all diseas'd, all maladies
Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone and ulcer, colic pangs,
Dæmoniac frenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
Dire was the tossing, deep the groans, despair
Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invok'd
With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept,

[482] *feverous*] Hor. Od. i. iii. 30. 'Febrium cohors.' *Todd.*

Though not of woman born; compassion quell'd
His best of man, and gave him up to tears
A space, till firmer thoughts restrain'd excess,
And scarce recovering words his plaint renew'd.
O miserable mankind, to what fall
Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd!
Better end here unborn. Why is life giv'n
To be thus wrested from us? rather why
Obtruded on us thus? who, if we knew
What we receive, would either not accept
Life offer'd, or soon beg to lay it down,
Glad to be so dismiss'd in peace. Can thus
Th' image of God in man, created once
So goodly and erect, though faulty since,
To such unsightly sufferings be debas'd
Under inhuman pains? Why should not man,
Retaining still divine similitude
In part, from such deformities be free,
And for his Maker's image sake exempt?
Their Maker's image, answer'd Michael, then
Forsook them, when themselves they vilify'd
To serve ungovern'd appetite, and took
His image whom they serv'd, a brutish vice,
Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.
Therefore so abject is their punishment,
Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own,
Or if his likeness, by themselves defac'd,

497 *gave him up*] Shakesp. Hen. V. act. iv. sc. 6.
'But all my mother came into my eyes
And gave me up to tears.' *Newton.*

While they pervert pure nature's healthful rules
To loathsome sickness, worthily, since they
God's image did not reverence in themselves.
I yield it just, said Adam, and submit.
But is there yet no other way, besides
These painful passages, how we may come
To death, and mix with our connatural dust?
There is, said Michael, if thou well observe
The rule of not too much, by temperance taught
In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence
Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
Till many years over thy head return:
So may'st thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop
Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature.
This is old age; but then thou must outlive
Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
To wither'd, weak, and gray: thy senses then
Obtuse all taste of pleasure must forego
To what thou hast, and for the air of youth
Hopeful and cheerful in thy blood will reign
A melancholy damp of cold and dry
To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume
The balm of life. To whom our ancestor.
Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
Life much, bent rather how I may be quit

537 *mature*] v. Cic. de Senectute. xix. 'Et quasi poma ex arboribus, *cruda* si sint, vi avelluntur: si *matura*, et cocta, decidunt.' *Newton.*

Fairest and easiest of this cumbrous charge,
Which I must keep till my appointed day
Of rend'ring up, and patiently attend
My dissolution. Michael reply'd.
Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
Live well, how long or short permit to Heav'n:
And now prepare thee for another sight.
He look'd, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue; by some were herds
Of cattle grazing: others, whence the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ; and who mov'd
Their stops and chords was seen: his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions low and high
Fled and pursu'd transverse the resonant fugue,
In other part stood one who, at the forge
Labouring, two massy clods of iron and brass
Had melted, whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods on mountain or in vale,

551 *attend*] In the first edition;

'Which I must keep till my appointed day
Of rendering up. Michael to him replied.' *Newton.*

553 *hate*] Martial, lib. x.

'Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.' *Newton.*

554 *permit*] Permitte Divis. Hor. Od. i. ix. 9. *Newton.*

565 *clods*] From Lucretius, V. 1240.

'Quod superest, æs, atque aurum, ferrumque repertum est,
Et simul argenti pondus, plumbique, potestas.
Ignis ubi ingenteis sylvas ardore cremârat
Montibus in magnis.' *Jortin.*

Down to the veins of earth, thence gliding hot
To some cave's mouth, or whether wash'd by stream
From underground; the liquid ore he drain'd
Into fit moulds prepar'd; from which he form'd
First his own tools; then, what might else be wrought
Fusil or grav'n in metal. After these,
But on the hither side, a different sort
From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
Down to the plain descended: by their guise
Just men they seem'd, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things last, which might preserve
Freedom and peace to men: they on the plain
Long had not walk'd, when from the tents behold
A bevy of fair women, richly gay
In gems and wanton dress; to the harp they sung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on:
The men, tho' grave, ey'd them, and let their eyes
Rove without rein, till, in the amorous net
Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose:
And now of love they treat, till the ev'ning star,
Love's harbinger, appear'd; then all in heat
They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke

582 *bevy*] 'A dancing *bevy* of fair lights.' Sir G. Sherburne's Poems, p. 37.

586 *amorous*] So Ariosto Orl. Fur. I. 12.

'Ch' all' *amorosa rete* il tenea involto.' *Bowle.*

587 *Fast*] So in Milton's own ed. In Tonson's early ed. '*First* caught,' which Tickell and Fenton followed. *Todd.*

Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd;
With feast and music all the tents resound.
Such happy interview and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flow'rs,
And charming symphonies attach'd the heart
Of Adam, soon inclin'd to admit delight,
The bent of nature, which he thus express'd.
True opener of mine eyes, prime angel bless'd,
Much better seems this vision, and more hope
Of peaceful days portends, than those two past;
Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,
Here nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends.
To whom thus Michael. Judge not what is best
By pleasure, though to nature seeming meet,
Created, as thou art, to nobler end
Holy and pure, conformity divine.
Those tents, thou saw'st so pleasant, were the tents
Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
Who slew his brother; studious they appear
Of arts that polish life, inventors rare,
Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget;
For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seem'd
Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists
Woman's domestic honour and chief praise;
Bred only and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and troul the tongue, and roll the eye.

To these that sober race of men, whose lives
Religious titled them the sons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of these fair atheists; and now swim in joy,
Erelong to swim at large; and laugh, for which
The world erelong a world of tears must weep.

To whom thus Adam of short joy bereft.
O pity and shame, that they, who to live well
Enter'd so fair, should turn aside to tread
Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint!
But still I see the tenor of man's woe
Holds on the same, from woman to begin.

From man's effeminate slackness it begins,
Said th' angel, who should better hold his place
By wisdom and superior gifts receiv'd.
But now prepare thee for another scene.

He look'd, and saw wide territory spread
Before him, towns, and rural works between,
Cities of men with lofty gates and tow'rs,
Concourse in arms, fierce faces threat'ning war,
Giants of mighty bone, and bold emprise;
Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,
Single, or in array of battle rang'd

626 *laugh*] Milton's own pointing of this passage was thus,

' And now swim in joy
(Erelong to swim at large) and laugh; for which
The world erelong a world of tears must weep.'

Newton.

642 *bold emprise*] Spens. F. Qu. ii. iii. 35.
' Is far renown'd through many a *bold emprise*.' *Todd.*

Both horse and foot, nor idly must'ring stood:
One way a band select from forage drives
A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine,
From a fat meadow ground; or fleecy flock,
Ewes and their bleating lambs, over the plain,
Their booty; scarce with life the shepherds fly,
But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray.
With cruel tournament the squadrons join;
Where cattle pastur'd late, now scatter'd lies
With carcasses and arms th' ensanguin'd field,
Deserted. Others to a city strong
Lay siege, encamp'd, by battery, scale, and mine,
Assaulting; others from the wall defend
With dart and javelin, stones and sulphurous fire;
On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.
In other part the scepter'd heralds call
To council in the city gates: anon
Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,
Assemble, and harangues are heard; but soon
In factious opposition; till at last
Of middle age one rising, eminent
In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,
Of justice, of religion, truth and peace,
And judgment from above: him old and young

651 *makes*] So altered in the second edition. It was 'tacks a bloody fray' in the first. *Newton.*

660 *heralds*] Newton has pointed out several passages in Homer's description of the shield of Achilles, which Milton had in his mind, Iliad xviii. 550, &c. 587, &c. 491, &c. 527, &c. 509, &c. 503, &c.

Exploded, and had siez'd with violent hands,
Had not a cloud descending snatch'd him thence
Unseen amid the throng: so violence
Proceeded, and oppression, and sword-law,
Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
Lamenting turn'd full sad; O! what are these,
Death's ministers, not men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thousand-fold the sin of him who slew
His brother; for of whom such massacre
Make they but of their brethren, men of men?
But who was that just man, whom had not heav'n
Rescu'd, had in his righteousness been lost?

To whom thus Michael. These are the product
Of those ill mated marriages thou saw'st;
Where good with bad were match'd, who of themselves
Abhor to join; and by imprudence mix'd
Produce prodigious births of body or mind.
Such were these giants, men of high renown;
For in those days might only shall be admir'd,
And valour and heroic virtue call'd:
To overcome in battel, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and for glory done

676 *Death's*] 'Death's progeny, not mine.' *Bentl. MS.*

691 *done*] This is considered a very difficult passage. Bentley changed 'done' into 'won,' and 'of triumph,' into 'or triumph.' I understand it thus: 'To overcome in battle,

Of triumph to be styl'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods,
Destroyers rightlier call'd and plagues of men.
Thus fame shall be achiev'd, renown on earth,
And what most merits fame in silence hid.
But he, the seventh from thee, whom thou beheld'st
The only righteous in a world perverse,
And therefore hated, therefore so beset
With foes for daring single to be just,
And utter odious truth, that God would come
To judge them with his saints; him the most High
Wrapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds
Did, as thou saw'st, receive, to walk with God
High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
Exempt from death: to show thee what reward
Awaits the good, the rest what punishment:
Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold:
He look'd, and saw the face of things quite chang'd,
The brazen throat of war had ceas'd to roar;
All now was turn'd to jollity and game,
To luxury and riot, feast and dance,
Marrying or prostituting as befell,
Rape or adultery, where passing fair

and bring home spoils, shall be held the highest pitch of glory; and for the glory obtained, it shall be highest pitch of triumph to be styled conquerors, &c. but the distinction between 'glory' and 'triumph' does not seem sufficiently strong, and 'to do glory' is a harsh expression.

711 *Which*] The syntax is remarkable, 'which' governed not by the verb next following, but by the last in the sentence. 'Which, now direct thine eyes, and soon *behold*.' *Newton*.

Allur'd them; thence from cups to civil broils.
At length a reverend sire among them came,
And of their doings great dislike declar'd,
And testify'd against their ways; he oft
Frequented their assemblies, whereso met,
Triumphs, or festivals, and to them preach'd
Conversion and repentance, as to souls
In prison under judgments imminent:
But all in vain: which when he saw, he ceas'd
Contending, and remov'd his tents far off:
Then from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a vessel of huge bulk,
Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and highth,
Smear'd round with pitch, and in the side a door
Contriv'd, and of provisions laid in large
For man and beast: when lo, a wonder strange!
Of every beast, and bird, and insect small,
Came sevens, and pairs, and enter'd in, as taught
Their order: last the sire and his three sons
With their four wives; and God made fast the door.
Meanwhile the south wind rose, and, with black wings
Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove
From under heav'n; the hills to their supply
Vapour, and exhalation dusk and moist,
Sent up amain: and now the thicken'd sky
Like a dark ceiling stood; down rush'd the rain

719 *sire*] See Brathwait's Honest Ghost, p. 128, 'A grave reverend sire.'

723 *Triumphs*] Revels, 713, 780, 788. *Bentl. MS.*

743 *ceiling*] Drummond in his Shadow of Judgment. 'The *cieling* of the crystal round above.' *Todd.*

Impetuous, and continu'd till the earth
No more was seen; the floating vessel swum
Uplifted; and secure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o'er the waves, all dwellings else
Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their pomp
Deep under water roll'd; sea cover'd sea,
Sea without shore, and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
And stabled; of mankind, so numerous late,
All left in one small bottom swum imbark'd.
How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
The end of all thy offspring, end so sad,
Depopulation! thee another flood,
Of tears and sorrow a flood thee also drown'd,
And sunk thee as thy sons; till gently rear'd
By th' angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,
Though comfortless, as when a father mourns
His children, all in view destroy'd at once;
And scarce to th' angel utter'dst thus thy plaint.
O visions ill foreseen! better had I
Liv'd ignorant of future, so had borne
My part of evil only, each day's lot
Enough to bear; those now, that were dispens'd

752 *stabled*] See Lisle's Du Bartas, p. 169, 'Nor stablest once thy team,' and Casimiri Sarb. Carm. Lib. iv. c. xxvii.

'Quies, modo liberi,
Festo choreas agmine plausimus,
Delphines insultant plateis,
Et vacuas spaciosa cete,
Ludunt per aulas, ac thalamos pigræ
Pressere phocæ.'

The burden of many ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
Abortive, to torment me ere their being,
With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
Him or his children; evil he may be sure,
Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
And he the future evil shall no less
In apprehension than in substance feel,
Grievous to bear: but that care now is past,
Man is not whom to warn; those few escap'd
Famine and anguish will at last consume
Wand'ring that wat'ry desert. I had hope,
When violence was ceas'd, and war on earth,
All would have then gone well; peace would have crown'd
With length of happy days the race of man;
But I was far deceiv'd; for now I see
Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste.
How comes it thus? unfold, celestial guide,
And whether here the race of man will end.
To whom thus Michael. Those whom last thou saw'st
In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
First seen in acts of prowess eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who having spill'd much blood, and done much waste,

778 *Famine*] So Ovid Met. i. 311.

'Maximus pars unda rapitur, quibus unda pepercit
Illos longa domant inopi jejunia victu.' *Newton.*

Subduing nations, and achiev'd thereby
Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride
Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace.
The conquer'd also and enslav'd by war
Shall with their freedom lost all virtue lose
And fear of God, from whom their piety feign'd
In sharp contest of battel found no aid
Against invaders; therefore cool'd in zeal
Thenceforth shall practise how to live secure,
Worldly, or dissolute, on what their lords
Shall leave them to enjoy, for th' earth shall bear
More than enough, that temperance may be try'd:
So all shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd,
Justice and temperance, truth and faith forgot;
One man except, the only son of light
In a dark age, against example good,
Against allurement, custom, and a world
Offended; fearless of reproach and scorn,
Or violence, he of their wicked ways
Shall them admonish, and before them set
The paths of righteousness, how much more safe
And full of peace, denouncing wrath to come
On their impenitence; and shall return
Of them derided, but of God observ'd
The one just man alive; by his command

817 *observ'd*] Observations honoured. C. J.

Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheld'st,
To save himself and household from amidst
A world devote to universal wreck.
No sooner he with them of man and beast
Select for life shall in the ark be lodg'd,
And shelter'd round, but all the cataracts
Of heav'n set open on the earth shall pour
Rain day and night, all fountains of the deep
Broke up shall heave the ocean to usurp
Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise
Above the highest hills: then shall this mount
Of paradise by might of waves be mov'd
Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the op'ning gulf,
And there take root, an island salt and bare,
The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang,

631 *horned*] See Browne's Britan. Past. ii. p. 190.

'And now the *horned flood* bore to our isle.'

Hor. Od. iv. 14. 25.

'Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus.'

and Virg. Geo. iv. 371. Æn. viii. 77.

635 *haunt*] Virg. Æn. V. 128. 'Apricis statio gratissima mergis.' Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 77.

Πουλύποδες δ' ἐν ἐμοὶ θαλάμας φῶκαι τε μελαιναι,
Οἰκία ποιήσονται ἀκηδέα.

636 *clang*] Hom. Il. iii. 3. Stat. Theb. v. 15, xii. 515.

——— 'Grues Aquilone fugatæ
Cum videre Pharon; tunc æthera latius implent
Tunc hilari *clangore* sonant.'

To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
And now what further shall ensue, behold.
He look'd, and saw the ark hull on the flood,
Which now abated, for the clouds were fled,
Driv'n by a keen north-wind, that blowing dry
Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;
And the clear sun on his wide wat'ry glass
Gaz'd hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew,
As after thirst, which made their flowing shrink
From standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole
With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stopp'd
His sluices, as the heav'n his windows shut.
The ark no more now floats, but seems on ground
Fast on the top of some high mountain fix'd.
And now the tops of hills as rocks appear;

810 *hull*] v. Donne's Poems, p. 316. xxxi. 'A great ship overset, or without saile *hulling*.' Queen Elizabeth's Tear, by C. Lever, 1607, 4to. F. 2. '*Hulling* upon the river where she lay.' Sandy's Psalms, p. 181. 'The ship *hulls*, as the billows flow.'

847 *tripping*] Drayton applies this word to the flow of rivers: Polyolb. Song xiii. 'The Avon *trips* along.' xv. 'The Isis from her source comes *tripping* with delight;' and xxvi. 'Darwin from her fount comes tripping down towards Trent.' *Todd.*

848 *soft foot*] See Drakenborch's Note on Sil. Italicus, vi. 140. p. 298. Lucret. v. 274. 'Liquido pede,' with Wakefield's Note, and Jer. Taylor's Sermon on Lady Carbery, fol. p. 169.

852 *tops*] Backs. vii. 206. *Bentl. M3*

With clamour thence the rapid currents drive
Towards the retreating sea their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies,
And after him, the surer messenger,
A dove, sent forth once and again to spy
Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light;
The second time returning, in his bill
An olive leaf he brings, pacific sign:
Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
The ancient sire descends with all his train;
Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to heav'n, over his head beholds
A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow
Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,
Betok'ning peace from God, and cov'nant new.
Whereat the heart of Adam erst so sad
Greatly rejoic'd, and thus his joy broke forth.
O thou, who future things canst represent
As present, heav'nly instructor, I revive
At this last sight, assur'd that man shall live
With all the creatures, and their seed preserve.
Far less I now lament for one whole world
Of wicked sons destroy'd, than I rejoice
For one man found so perfect and so just,
That God vouchsafes to raise another world
From him, and all his anger to forget.
But say, what mean those colour'd streaks in heav'n,
Distended as the brow of God appeas'd?
Or serve they as a flow'ry verge to bind

880 *brow*] Fenton proposed to read 'The bow of God.'

The fluid skirts of that same wat'ry cloud,
Lest it again dissolve and show'r the earth?
To whom th' archangel. Dextrously thou aim'st;
So willingly doth God remit his ire,
Though late repenting him of man deprav'd,
Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
Corrupting each their way; yet, those remov'd,
Such grace shall one just man find in his sight,
That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
And makes a covenant never to destroy
The earth again by flood, nor let the sea
Surpass his bounds, nor rain to drown the world
With man therein or beast; but when he brings
Over the earth a cloud, will therein set
His triple-colour'd bow, whereon to look,
And call to mind his cov'nant: day and night,
Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost,
Shall hold their course, till fire purge all things new.
Both heav'n and earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

886 *late*] Fenton placed a comma after 'late,' but Bentley removed it, and gave the line agreeably to Milton's own editions.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE angel Michael continues from the flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that seed of the woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the fall; his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension; the state of the church till his second coming. Adam, greatly satisfied, and recomforted by these relations and promises, descends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their stations to guard the place.

As one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on speed, so here th' archangel paus'd
Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose;
Then with transition sweet new speech resumes. 5
Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end;
And man as from a second stock proceed.
Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive

[1] *As one*] When the last book was divided into two, in the second edition, these first five lines were added.

Thy mortal sight to fail: objects divine
Must needs impair and weary human sense:
Henceforth what is to come I will relate,
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
This second source of men, while yet but few,
And while the dread of judgment past remains
Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
With some regard to what is just and right
Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
Labouring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
Corn, wine, and oil; and from the herd, or flock,
Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid,
With large wine-offerings pour'd, and sacred feast,
Shall spend their days in joy unblam'd, and dwell
Long time in peace by families and tribes
Under paternal rule; till one shall rise
Of proud ambitious heart, who not content
With fair equality, fraternal state,
Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
Concord and law of nature from the earth;
Hunting, and men not beasts shall be his game.
With war and hostile snare such as refuse
Subjection to his empire tyrannous.
A mighty hunter thence he shall be styl'd
Before the Lord, as in despite of heav'n,
Or from heav'n claiming second sov'reignty;
And from rebellion shall derive his name,
Though of rebellion others he accuse.
He with a crew, whom like ambition joins

With him or under him to tyrannize,
Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find
The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boils out from under ground, the mouth of hell:
Of brick and of that stuff they cast to build
A city and tow'r, whose top may reach to heav'n,
And get themselves a name, lest far disperst
In foreign lands their memory be lost,
Regardless whether good or evil fame.
But GOD, who oft descends to visit men
Unseen, and through their habitations walks
To mark their doings, them beholding soon,
Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
Obstruct heav'n tow'rs, and in derision sets
Upon their tongues a various spirit, to rase
Quite out their native language, and instead
To sow a jangling noise of words unknown.
Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud
Among the builders, each to other calls
Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,
As mock'd they storm; great laughter was in heav'n.
And looking down, to see the hubbub strange

42 *mouth*] Type. i. 405. *Bentl. MS.* In this twelfth book, Bentley says, the editor has seldom mixed his pebbles among the author's diamonds.

42 *mouth of hell*] Virg. Georg. iv. 467.

'Tænarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis.' *Newton.*

52 *Obstruct*] Approach the clouds. *Bentl. MS.*

60 *hubbub*] v. F. Queen. iii. x. 43.

'And shrieking *hubbubs* them approaching nere.'

Bowle.

And hear the din; thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work Confusion nam'd.
Whereto thus Adam fatherly displeas'd.
O execrable son! so to aspire
Above his brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurp'd, from God not giv'n.
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over men
He made not lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.
But this usurper his encroachment proud
Stays not on man; to God his tower intends
Siege and defiance. Wretched man! what food
Will he convey up thither to sustain
Himself and his rash army, where thin air
Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
And famish him of breath, if not of bread?
To whom thus Michael. Justly thus abhorr'st
That son, who on the quiet state of men
Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
Rational liberty; yet know withal,
Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,

82 *Rational*] National. *Bentl. MS.*

83 *thy*] So in Milton's own edition. In Fenton's, Bentley's, and others, it is 'Since *by* original lapse.' *Newton.*

85 *Twinn'd*] Some editions read 'twin'd.' *Newton.*

Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart passions catch the government
From reason, and to servitude reduce
Man till then free. Therefore, since he permits
Within himself unworthy powers to reign
Over free reason, God in judgment just
Subjects him from without to violent lords
Who oft as undeservedly enthral
His outward freedom. Tyranny must be,
Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
But justice, and some fatal curse annex'd,
Deprives them of their outward liberty,
Their inward lost: witness th' irreverent son
Of him who built the ark, who for the shame
Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
Servant of servants, on his vicious race.
Thus will this latter, as the former world,
Still tend from bad to worse, till God at last,
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes; resolving from thenceforth
To leave them to their own polluted ways;
And one peculiar nation to select
From all the rest, of whom to be invok'd,
A nation from one faithful man to spring:

[103] *this*] So in Milton's own ed.; but in others, '*his* heavy curse.' The corruption first occurs in Tonson's ed. 1711, and is followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley.

Him on this side Euphrates yet residing
Bred up in idol-worship, O that men,
Canst thou believe? should be so stupid grown,
While yet the patriarch liv'd, who scap'd the flood,
As to forsake the living God, and fall
To worship their own work in wood and stone
For Gods; yet him God the most high vouchsafes
To call by vision from his father's house,
His kindred, and false Gods, into a land
Which he will show him, and from him will raise
A mighty nation, and upon him show'r
His benediction so, that in his seed
All nations shall be bless'd; he straight obeys,
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes.
I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
He leaves his Gods, his friends, and native soil
Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the ford
To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
Of herds, and flocks, and numerous servitude;
Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown,
Canaan he now attains, I see his tents
Pitch'd about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
Of Moreh; there by promise he receives
Gift to his progeny of all that land;
From Hamath northward to the desert south,
Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd,
From Hermon east to the great western sea,
Mount Hermon, yonder sea, each place behold
In prospect, as I point them; on the shore

Mount Carmel; here the double-founted stream
Jordan, true limit eastward; but his sons
Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.
This ponder, that all nations of the earth
Shall in his seed be blessed; by that seed
Is meant thy great Deliverer, who shall bruise
The serpent's head; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier shall be reveal'd. This patriarch bless'd,
Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,
A son, and of his son a grandchild, leaves,
Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown.
The grandchild with twelve sons increas'd departs
From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd
Ægypt, divided by the river Nile;
See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths
Into the sea. To sojourn in that land
He comes, invited by a younger son
In time of dearth; a son, whose worthy deeds
Raise him to be the second in that realm
Of Pharaoh: there he dies, and leaves his race
Growing into a nation, and now grown
Suspected to a sequent king, who seeks
To stop their overgrowth, as inmate guests
Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them
Inhospitably, and kills their infant males: [slaves
Till by two brethren, those two brethren call
Moses and Aaron, sent from God to claim
His people from enthralment, they return

155 *increas'd*] A Latinism, as Plaut. Trucul. ii. vi. 34. 'Cumque es aucta liberis.' *Richardson.*

With glory and spoil back to their promis'd land.
But first the lawless tyrant, who denies
To know their God, or message to regard,
Must be compell'd by signs and judgments dire;
To blood unshed the rivers must be turn'd;
Frogs, lice, and flies, must all his palace fill
With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land;
His cattle must of rot and murrain die;
Botches and blains must all his flesh imboss,
And all his people; thunder mix'd with hail,
Hail mix'd with fire, must rend th' Ægyptian sky,
And wheel on th' earth, devouring where it rolls;
What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
A darksome cloud of locusts swarming down
Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green:
Darkness must overshadow all his bounds,
Palpable darkness, and blot out three days;
Last with one midnight stroke all the first-born
Of Ægypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
This river-dragon tam'd at length submits
To let his sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart; but still as ice

177 *fill*] Spoil. *Bentl. MS.*

180 *imboss*] Shakesp. K. Lear, act iv. sc. 11.

————Thou art a boil,
A plague-sore, an *embossed* carbuncle. *Todd.*

188 *Palpable*] 'O darkness palpable.' Marston's Sat. ii.

191 *This river-dragon*] So in the first edition; in the second it is altered to 'The river-dragon.' *Pearce.*

More harden'd after thaw, till, in his rage
Pursuing whom he late dismiss'd, the sea
Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass
As on dry land between two crystal walls,
Aw'd by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided, till his rescu'd gain their shore:
Such wondrous power God to his saint will lend,
Though present in his angel, who shall go
Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire,
By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire,
To guide them in their journey, and remove
Behind them, while th' obdurate king pursues:
All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning watch;
Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth will trouble all his host,
And craze their chariot-wheels: when by command
Moses once more his potent rod extends
Over the sea; the sea his rod obeys;
On their imbattel'd ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war. The race elect
Safe towards Canaan from the shore advance
Through the wild desert, not the readiest way,
Lest ent'ring on the Canaanite alarm'd
War terrify them inexpert, and fear

[197] *crystal walls*] In Sylvester's Du Bartas, p. 363, the Red Sea is described with 'walls of crystall.' *Todd.*

[207] *defends*] i. e. forbids, keeps off: so b. xi. 86. 'That defended fruit;' and Spens. F. Q. iv. 3. 32.

'Himself to save and daunger to *defend*.' *Todd.*

Return them back to Ægypt, choosing rather
Inglorious life with servitude; for life
To noble and ignoble is more sweet
Untrain'd in arms, where rashness leads not on.
This also shall they gain by their delay
In the wide wilderness, there they shall found
Their government, and their great senate choose
Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd.
God from the mount of Sinai, whose gray top
Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets sound
Ordain them laws; part, such as appertain
To civil justice; part, religious rites
Of sacrifice, informing them by types
And shadows of that destin'd seed to bruise
The serpent, by what means he shall achieve
Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God
To mortal ear is dreadful: they beseech
That Moses might report to them his will,
And terror cease; he grants what they besought,
Instructed that to God is no access
Without mediator, whose high office now
Moses in figure bears, to introduce
One greater, of whose day he shall foretell,
And all the prophets in their age the times
Of great Messiah shall sing. Thus laws and rites
Establish'd, such delight hath God in men
Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes

[238] *what they besoguht*] In the first edition, 'He grants them their desire.' *Newton.*

Among them to set up his tabernacle,
The Holy One with mortal men to dwell.
By his prescript a sanctuary is fram'd
Of cedar, overlaid with gold, therein
An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
The records of his cov'nant, over these
A mercy-seat of gold between the wings
Of two bright Cherubim; before him burn
Seven lamps, as in a zodiac representing
The heav'nly fires; over the tent a cloud
Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night,
Save when they journey, and at length they come
Conducted by his angel to the land
Promis'd to Abraham and his seed. The rest
Were long to tell, how many battels fought,
How many kings destroy'd, and kingdoms won;
Or how the sun shall in mid heav'n stand still
A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
Man's voice commanding, Sun in Gibeon stand,
And thou moon in the vale of Aialon,
Till Israel overcome; so call the third
From Abraham, son of Isaac, and from him
His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win.
  Here Adam interpos'd. O sent from heav'n,
Enlightner of my darkness, gracious things
Thou hast reveal'd, those chiefly which concern
Just Abraham and his seed: now first I find
Mine eyes true op'ning, and my heart much eas'd,
Erewhile perplex'd with thoughts what would become

Of me and all mankind; but now I see
His day, in whom all nations shall be bless'd,
Favour unmerited by me, who sought
Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
This yet I apprehend not, why to those
Among whom God will deign to dwell on earth
So many and so various laws are giv'n;
So many laws argue so many sins
Among them; how can God with such reside?
To whom thus Michael. Doubt not but that sin
Will reign among them, as of thee begot;
And therefore was law given them to evince
Their natural pravity, by stirring up
Sin against law to fight; that when they see
Law can discover sin, but not remove,
Save by those shadowy expiations weak,
The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
Some blood more precious must be paid for man,
Just for unjust, that in such righteousness
To them by faith imputed they may find
Justification towards God, and peace
Of conscience, which the law by ceremonies
Cannot appease, nor man the moral part
Perform, and not performing cannot live.
So law appears imperfect, and but giv'n
With purpose to resign them in full time
Up to a better covenant, disciplin'd
From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
From imposition of strict laws to free
Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear

To filial, works of law to works of faith.
And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
Highly belov'd, being but the minister
Of law, his people into Canaan lead;
But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call,
His name and office bearing, who shall quell
The adversary serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderness long wander'd man
Safe to eternal paradise of rest.
Mean while they in their earthly Canaan plac'd
Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
National interrupt their public peace,
Provoking God to raise them enemies,
From whom as oft he saves them penitent,
By judges first, then under kings; of whom
The second, both for piety renown'd
And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
Irrevocable, that his regal throne
For ever shall endure; the like shall sing
All prophesy, that of the royal stock
Of David, so I name this king, shall rise
A son, the woman's seed to thee foretold,
Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
All nations, and to kings foretold, of kings
The last, for of his reign shall be no end.
But first a long succession must ensue,
And his next son, for wealth and wisdom fam'd,
The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
Wand'ring, shall in a glorious temple enshrine.
Such follow him, as shall be register'd

Part good, part bad, of bad the longer scroll;
Whose foul idolatries, and other faults
Heap'd to the popular sum, will so incense
God, as to leave them, and expose their land,
Their city, his temple, and his holy ark,
With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
To that proud city, whose high walls thou saw'st
Left in confusion, Babylon thence call'd.
There in captivity he lets them dwell
The space of seventy years, then brings them back,
Rememb'ring mercy and his cov'nant sworn
To David stablish'd as the days of heav'n.
Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
Their lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of God
They first re-edify, and for a while
In mean estate live moderate, till grown
In wealth and multitude, factious they grow:
But first among the priests dissension springs,
Men who attend the altar, and should most
Endeavour peace: their strife pollution brings
Upon the temple itself: at last they seize
The scepter, and regard not David's sons;
Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
Anointed king Messiah might be born
Barr'd of his right; yet at his birth a star
Unseen before in heav'n proclaims him come;
And guides the eastern sages, who inquire
His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold:
His place of birth a solemn angel tells
To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;

They gladly thither haste, and by a choir
Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.
A Virgin is his mother, but his sire
The power of the Most High; he shall ascend
The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the heav'ns.
He ceas'd, discerning Adam with such joy
Surcharg'd, as had like grief been dew'd in tears,
Without the vent of words, which these he breath'd.
O prophet of glad tidings, finisher
Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
What oft my steadiest thoughts have search'd in vain,
Why our great expectation should be call'd
The seed of woman: Virgin Mother, hail,
High in the love of heav'n, yet from my loins
Thou shalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
Of God most high; so God with man unites.
Needs must the serpent now his capital bruise
Expect with mortal pain: say where and when
Their fight, what stroke shall bruise the victor's heel.
To whom thus Michael. Dream not of their fight,
As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel: not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to Godhead, with more strength to foil
Thy enemy; nor so is overcome
Satan, whose fall from heav'n, a deadlier bruise,
Disabled not to give thee thy death's wound;
Which he, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,

370 *bound*] Hume and Newton cite Virg. Æn. i. 287.
'Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris.'
Upton refers to Psalm ii. 8. Isaiah ix. 7. Zechariah ix. 9.

Not by destroying Satan, but his works
In thee and in thy seed: nor can this be,
But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
Obedience to the law of God, impos'd
On penalty of death, and suffering death,
The penalty to thy transgression due,
And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:
So only can high justice rest appaid.
The law of God exact he shall fulfil,
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law; thy punishment
He shall endure by coming in the flesh
To a reproachful life and cursed death,
Proclaiming life to all who shall believe
In his redemption, and that his obedience
Imputed becomes theirs by faith, his merits
To save them, not their own, though legal, works.
For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd,
Seiz'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemn'd
A shameful and accurs'd, nail'd to the cross

401 *appaid*] i. e. 'satisfied;' the language of Chaucer and Spenser. See Urry's Gloss. Chaucer. *Todd.*

409 *merits*] Pearce, Newton, and the other critics, acknowledge the difficulty of this passage. Mr. Todd speaks of an *ingenious* writer, who reads 'merit's,' with an elision. Bentley prefers 'Do save them,' which is justly objected to by Pearce. I propose to read

'———— and that his obedience
Imputed, becomes theirs by faith; his merits
So save them, not their own, though legal works.'

This reading appears to me to render the passage clear, without any further alteration of the text than the substitution of S for T.

By his own nation, slain for bringing life:
But to the cross he nails thy enemies,
The law that is against thee, and the sins
Of all mankind, with him there crucify'd,
Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
In this his satisfaction: so he dies,
But soon revives, death over him no power
Shall long usurp; ere the third dawning light
Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,
His death for man, as many as offer'd life
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
By faith not void of works. This godlike act
Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have dy'd,
In sin for ever lost from life; this act
Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength,
Defeating sin and death, his two main arms,
And fix far deeper in his head their stings,
Than temporal death shall bruise the victor's heel,
Or theirs whom he redeems, a death, like sleep,
A gentle wafting to immortal life.
Nor after resurrection shall he stay
Longer on earth than certain times to appear
To his disciples, men who in his life
Still follow'd him; to them shall leave in charge

424 *Thy ransom*] The two first editions have 'Thy,' the later ones 'The.' *Pearce.*

434 *death like sleep*] Fenton has printed 'death-like;' and Johnson has quoted this passage in his dictionary to illustrate 'death-like;' but Milton's editions do not authorize such a reading.

To teach all nations what of him they learn'd
And his salvation; them who shall believe
Baptizing in the profluent stream, the sign
Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
For death, like that which the redeemer dy'd.
All nations they shall teach; for from that day
Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
Salvation shall be preach'd, but to the sons
Of Abraham's faith where-ever through the world:
So in his seed all nations shall be bless'd.
Then to the heav'n of heav'ns he shall ascend
With victory, triumphing through the air
Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise
The serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;
Then enter into glory, and resume
His seat at God's right hand, exalted high
Above all names in heav'n; and thence shall come,
When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
With glory and power to judge both quick and dead,
To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
Whether in heav'n or earth; for then the earth
Shall all be paradise, far happier place
Than this of Eden, and far happier days.
So spake th' Archangel Michael, then paus'd,
As at the world's great period; and our sire

459 *this world's*] In the later editions we have '*the* worlds,' but the two first have 'this.' *Pearce.*

461 *judge*] Damn. *Bentl. MS.*

Replete with joy and wonder thus reply'd.
O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done and occasion'd, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring.
To God more glory, more good will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
But say, if our deliverer up to heav'n
Must reascend, what will betide the few
His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,
The enemies of truth? who then shall guide
His people, who defend? will they not deal
Worse with his followers than with him they dealt?
Be sure they will, said th' angel; but from heav'n
He to his own a Comforter will send,
The promise of the father, who shall dwell
His spirit within them, and the law of faith
Working through love upon their hearts shall write,
To guide them in all truth, and also arm
With spiritual armour, able to resist
Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,
What man can do against them, not afraid,
Though to the death, against such cruelties
With inward consolations recompens'd,
And oft supported so as shall amaze

471 *And*] Nay, even, yea, i. 387. *Bentl. MS.*
494 *against*] Amidst. *Bentl. MS.*

Their proudest persecutors: for the Spirit
Pour'd first on his apostles, whom he sends
To evangelize the nations, then on all
Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts indue,
To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
Great numbers of each nation to receive
With joy the tidings brought from heav'n: at length
Their ministry perform'd, and race well run,
Their doctrine and their story written left,
They die; but in their room, as they forewarn,
Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
Who all the sacred mysteries of heav'n
To their own vile advantages shall turn
Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
With superstitions and traditions taint,
Left only in those written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood.
Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
Places, and titles, and with these to join
Secular power, though feigning still to act
By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
The Spirit of God, promis'd alike and giv'n
To all believers; and from that pretence
Spiritual laws by carnal powers shall force
On every conscience; laws which none shall find
Left them inroll'd, or what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then

[511] *Spirit*] I do not think that Milton, in all his writings, ever gave a stronger proof of his enthusiastical spirit than in this line. *Warburton.*

But force the Spirit of Grace itself, and bind
His consort liberty? what, but unbuild
His living temples, built by faith to stand,
Their own faith, not another's? for on earth
Who against faith and conscience can be heard
Infallible? yet many will presume:
Whence heavy persecution shall arise
On all who in the worship persevere
Of spirit and truth; the rest, far greater part,
Will deem in outward rites and specious forms
Religion satisfied; truth shall retire
Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of faith
Rarely be found: so shall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign,
Under her own weight groaning till the day
Appear of respiration to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid,
The woman's seed, obscurely then foretold,
Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
Last in the clouds from heav'n to be reveal'd
In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan with his perverted world, then raise
From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,
New heav'ns, new earth, ages of endless date

534 *Will deem*] In the second edition it was printed by mistake 'Well deem;' but this reading, absurd as it is, has been followed in all the editions, till Fenton's and Bentley's, except Tickell's.

546 *dissolve*] An expression borrowed from Scripture, 2 Pet. iii. 11. 'Seeing then that all these things shall be *dissolved*.' *Newton.*

Founded in righteousness, and peace, and love,
To bring forth fruits joy and eternal bliss.
He ended; and thus Adam last reply'd.
How soon hath thy prediction, Seer bless'd,
Measur'd this transient world, the race of time,
Till time stand fix'd? beyond is all abyss,
Eternity, whose end no eye can reach:
Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain;
Beyond which was my folly to aspire.
Henceforth I learn that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil; and by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simply meek; that suffering for truth's sake
Is fortitude to highest victory,
And to the faithful death the gate of life;
Taught this by his example, whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever bless'd.
To whom thus also th' angel last reply'd.
This having learn'd, thou hast attain'd the sum
Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the stars
Thou knew'st by name, and all th' ethereal powers,
All secrets of the deep, all nature's works,
Or works of God in heav'n, air, earth, or sea,
And all the riches of this world enjoy'dst,

And all the rule, one empire; only add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance, add love,
By name to come call'd charity, the soul
Of all the rest; then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this paradise, but shalt possess
A paradise within thee, happier far.
Let us descend now therefore from this top
Of speculation; for the hour precise
Exacts our parting hence; and see the guards,
By me encamp'd on yonder hill, expect
Their motion, at whose front a flaming sword,
In signal of remove, waves fiercely round;
We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve;
Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
To meek submission: thou at season fit
Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,
Chiefly what may concern her faith to know,
The great deliverance by her seed to come,
For by the woman's seed, on all mankind.
That ye may live, which will be many days,
Both in one faith unanimous, though sad
With cause for evils past; yet much more cheer'd
With meditation on the happy end.

He ended, and they both descend the hill;
Descended, Adam to the bower, where Eve
Lay sleeping, ran before, but found her wak'd;
And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd.

589 *speculation*] So in Par. Reg. iv. 236.
'this *specular* mount.' *Richardson.*

Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;
For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress
Wearied I fell asleep: but now lead on;
In me is no delay; with thee to go
Is to stay here; without thee here to stay
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
Art all things under heav'n, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.
This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence; though all by me is lost,
Such favour I unworthy am vouchsaf'd,
By me the promis'd seed shall all restore.
So spake our mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh
Th' archangel stood, and from the other hill
To their fix'd station all in bright array
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as ev'ning mist
Ris'n from a river o'er the marish glides,
And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanc'd
The brandish'd sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,

615 *In me*] Virg. Eclog. iii. 52,
'In me mora non erit ulla.' *Newton.*

630 *glides*] See Dante Il Purgat. c. v. 37.
'Vapori accesi non vid' io sì tosto
Di prima notte mai fender sereno,
Nè sol calando in nuvole d'Agosto.'

And vapour as the Libyan air adust,
Began to parch that temperate clime: whereat
In either hand th' hast'ning angel caught
Our ling'ring parents, and to the eastern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
To the subjected plain; then disappear'd.
They looking back all th' eastern side beheld
Of paradise, so late their happy seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms:
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and providence their guide.
They, hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

635 *vapour*] Hor. Epod. iii. 15.

'Nec tantus unquam siderum insedit *vapor*
Siticulosæ Apuliæ.' *Richardson.*

635 *air adust*] Tasso Gier. Lib. vii. 52.

Qual con le chiome sanguinose horrende
Splender *cometa* suol per l' *aria adusta*.' *Bowle.*

643 *brand*] Sword. Gen. i. 24. Blade, xi. 120. *Bentl. MS.*

645 *world*] Shakesp. Rich. II. act i. sc. 3.

'——— all the world's my way.' *Johnson.*

648 *hand*]

'A small but artful paradise they walk'd,
And hand in hand sad gentle things they talk'd.'

See Cowley's Davideis, p. 20.

648 *wand'ring*] Wearied. Careful. Social. *Bentl. MS.*

PARADISE REGAINED.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I, WHO ere-while the happy garden sung,
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd paradise to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully try'd
Through all temptation, and the tempter foil'd
In all his wiles, defeated, and repuls'd,
And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious Eremite
Into the desert, his victorious field,
Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,
And bear thro' highth or depth of nature's bounds
With prosperous wing full summ'd to tell of deeds
Above heroic, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age,
Worthy t' have not remain'd so long unsung.

Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice

7 *waste*] Spens. Fairy Queen, i. i. 32.
' Far hence, quoth he, in *wasteful wilderness*.' *Dunster.*

14 *summ'd*] Drayton's Polyolbion. Song xi.
' The muse from Cambria comes, with *pinions summ'd* and sound.' *Todd.*

More awful than the sound of trumpet, cry'd
Repentance, and heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
To all baptiz'd: to his great baptism flock'd
With awe the regions round, and with them came
From Nazareth the Son of Joseph deem'd
To the flood Jordan, came, as then obscure,
Unmarkt, unknown; but him the Baptist soon
Descry'd, divinely warn'd, and witness bore
As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
To him his heavenly office, nor was long
His witness unconfirm'd: on him baptiz'd
Heav'n open'd, and in likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From heav'n pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
That heard the adversary, who, roving still
About the world, at that assembly fam'd
Would not be last, and, with the voice divine
Nigh thunder-struck, th' exalted man, to whom
Such high attest was giv'n, a while survey'd
With wonder, then, with envy fraught and rage,
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To council summons all his mighty peers,
Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
A gloomy consistory; and them amidst
With looks aghast and sad he thus bespake.

[42] *consistory*] Virg. Æn. iii. 677.
'Concilium horrendum.' *Thyer.*

[42] *gloomy consistory*] See Dante Il Paradiso, xxix. 66.
'Omai dintorno a questo consistoro
Puoi contemplare assai.'

O ancient Powers of air and this wide world,
For much more willingly I mention air,
This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation; well ye know
How many ages, as the years of men,
This universe we have possest, and rul'd
In manner at our will th' affairs of earth,
Since Adam and his facil consort Eve
Lost paradise deceiv'd by me, though since
With dread attending when that fatal wound
Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head; long the decrees of heav'n
Delay, for longest time to him is short;
And now too soon for us the circling hours
This dreaded time have compast, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long threaten'd wound,
At least if so we can, and by the head
Broken be not intended all our power
To be infring'd, our freedom, and our being,
In this fair empire won of earth and air:
For this ill news I bring, the woman's seed,
Destin'd to this, is late of woman born;
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause,
But his growth now to youth's full flow'r, displaying
All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve

[57] *circling*] So P. L. vi. 3. vii. 342, 'Circling years.' *Dunster.*

[67] *youth's full flow'r*] Hom. Il. iv. 484, ἥβης ἄνθος. Lucret. i. 565, ævi contingere florem. iii. 771, ætatis tangere florem. Sil. Ital. xvi. 406, primævæ flore juventæ.

Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
Before him a great prophet to proclaim
His coming is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so
Purify'd to receive him pure, or rather
To do him honour as their king: all come,
And he himself among them was baptiz'd,
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of heav'n, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt. I saw
The prophet do him reverence, on him rising
Out of the water heav'n above the clouds
Unfold her crystal doors, thence on his head
A perfect dove descend, whate'er it meant,
And out of heav'n the sovereign voice I hear,
This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd.
His mother then is mortal, but his sire
He who obtains the monarchy of heav'n;
And what will he not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep;
Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face

[82] *crystal*] 'Crystal' was a favourite expression among our elder poets for 'bright.' It occurs nearly twenty times in Milton. It is often used, when no allusion to 'crystal' as a substance is meant, as in Shakesp. Hen. VI. p. i. act . sc. 1: 'Brandish your *crystal tresses* in the sky.' Dekker's Satiromastix, Sig. K. 4, ed. 1602, 'Bow their *crystal* knees.'

The glimpses of his father's glory shine.
Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be oppos'd,
Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven snares,
Ere in the head of nations he appear
Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam, and the exploit perform'd
Successfully; a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way found prosp'rous once
Induces best to hope of like success.

He ended, and his words impression left
Of much amazement to th' infernal crew,
Distracted and surpriz'd with deep dismay
At these sad tidings; but no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief.
Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprize
To him their great dictator, whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thriv'd

91 *edge*] Shakesp. All's Well, &c. Act iii. sc. 3.
'We'll strive to bear it for your worthy sake
To the extreme edge of hazard.' *Newton.*

97 *well-woven*] Sil. Ital. iii. 233.
'Docilis *fallendi*, et *nectere* tectos
Arte dolos.' *Dunster.*

104 *waft*] P. L. ii. 1041.
'Now with ease,
Wafts on the calmer wave.' *Dunster.*

In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea gods
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles,
Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,
This man of men, attested Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try;
So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd
To end his reign on earth so long enjoy'd:
But contrary unweeting he fulfill'd
The purpos'd counsel pre-ordain'd and fixt
Of the most High, who, in full frequence bright
Of angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold,
Thou and all angels conversant on earth
With man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that solemn message late,
On which I sent thee to the virgin pure
In Galilee, that she should bear a son
Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;
Then told'st her doubting how these things could be
To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the Power of the Highest
O'er-shadow her: this man born, and now up-grown,
To show him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose

137 *told'st*] The sense '*Thou* told'st her.' The language obscure, from being comprest and latinised, 'dixisti.'
Dunster.

To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy; he might have learnt
Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
He now shall know I can produce a man
Of female seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force, and drive him back to hell,
Winning by conquest what the first man lost
By fallacy surpriz'd. But first I mean
To exercise him in the wilderness;
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer sin and death, the two grand foes,
By humiliation and strong sufferance.
His weakness shall o'ercome satanic strength,
And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh;
That all the angels and æthereal powers,
They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit call'd my son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men.
So spake th' eternal Father, and all heav'n
Admiring stood a space, then into hymns
Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,

157 *rudiments*] Virg. Æn. xi. 156.
'*Bellique* propinqui
Dura rudimenta. *Dunster.*

Circling the throne and singing, while the hand
Sung with the voice, and this the argument.
Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now ent'ring his great duel, not of arms,
But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles.
The Father knows the Son; therefore secure
Ventures his filial virtue, though untry'd,
Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
Be frustrate all ye stratagems of hell,
And devilish machinations come to nought.
So they in heav'n their odes and vigils tun'd:
Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days
Lodg'd in Bethabara where John baptiz'd,
Musing and much revolving in his breast,
How best the mighty work he might begin
Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
Publish his god-like office now mature,
One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading,
And his deep thoughts, the better to converse
With solitude, till far from track of men,
Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,
And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
His holy meditations thus pursu'd.

171 *hand sung*] Tibull. El. iii. 4. 41.
'Digiti cum voce locuti.' *Calton.*

175 *vanquish*] Accent on the last syllable, so Shakesp. Hen. VI. Part 1. act iii. sc. 3.
'I am vanquish'd. These haughty words of hers,' &c. *Todd.*

185 *revolving*] Virg. Æn. x. 890.
'Multa movens animo.' *Dunster.*

O what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel my self, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill sorting with my present state compar'd.
When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing, all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good; my self I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
To such perfection, that, ere yet my age
Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own,
And was admir'd by all; yet this not all
To which my spirit aspir'd, victorious deeds
Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
Brute violence and proud tyrannic pow'r,
Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd:
Yet held it more humane, more heav'nly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear;

222 *willing*] Virg. Georg. iv. 561.
'Victorque *volentes*
Per *populos* dat jura.' *Jortin.*

At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
Not wilfully misdoing, but unware
Misled; the stubborn only to subdue,
These growing thoughts my Mother soon perceiving
By words at times cast forth inly rejoic'd,
And said to me apart. High are thy thoughts
O son, but nourish them, and let them soar
To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
Can raise them, though above example high;
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.
For know, thou art no son of mortal man,
Though men esteem thee low of parentage,
Thy father is the eternal King who rules
All heav'n and earth, angels and sons of men:
A messenger from God foretold thy birth
Conceiv'd in me a virgin; he foretold
Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
At thy nativity a glorious quire
Of angels in the fields of Bethlehem sung
To shepherds watching at their folds by night,
And told them the Messiah now was born,
Where they might see him; and to thee they came,
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
For in the inn was left no better room.

226 *subdue*] All the editions, except Tonson's, 1747, read 'destroy;' but in the errata of the first edition, the reader is desired to read 'subdue.' *Newton.*

233 *express*] So P. L. viii. 440.

'*Expressing* well the Spirit within thee free.' *Dunster.*

241 *should*] Tickell and Fenton, after Tonson, read 'shall.' Newton restored the right reading. *Todd.*

A star, not seen before, in heav'n appearing
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold,
By whose bright course led on they found the place,
Affirming it thy star new grav'n in heav'n,
By which they knew the king of Israel born.
Just Simeon and prophetick Anna, warn'd
By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,
Before the altar and the vested Priest,
Like things of thee to all that present stood.
This having heard, straight I again revolv'd
The law and prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
Through many a hard assay, even to the death,
Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain,
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,
The time prefixt I waited, when, behold!
The Baptist, of whose birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by sight, now come, who was to come
Before Messiah and his way prepare.
I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believ'd was from above; but he

257 *vested*] Virg. Æn. xii. 169. 'Purâque in *veste sacerdos*.' *Dunster.*

271 *knew*] Hence all the pictures of Raphael and the great Italian painters, representing the *infant Jesus and John*, are historically false.

Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaim'd
Me him, for it was shown him so from heav'n,
Me him whose harbinger he was; and first
Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won:
But as I rose out of the laving stream,
Heaven open'd her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove;
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from heav'n, pronounc'd me his,
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
But openly begin, as best becomes
The authority which I deriv'd from heav'n.
And now by some strong motion I am led
Into this wilderness, to what intent
I learn not yet, perhaps, I need not know;
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.
So spake our Morning Star, then in his rise,
And looking round on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;
The way he came not having mark'd, return
Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.
Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill

293 *dusk*] Virg. Æn. i. 165.
' *Horrentique atrum* nemus imminet *umbra*.' *Dunster.*

Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar, to defend him from the dew,
Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;
Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt
Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last
Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,
Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd; his walk
The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,
The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.
But now an aged man in rural weeds,
Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,
Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve
Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,

310 *beasts*] Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Victorie and Triumph*, ed. 1632, p. 27, says that when the beasts, in the wilderness,

'saw their Lord's bright cognizance
Shine in his face, soon did they disadvance,
And some unto him kneel, and some about him dance.'
A. Dyce.

313 *glar'd*] Jul. Cæs. act i. iv. 'I met a *Lion*
Who *glar'd* upon me, and *went surly* by.' *Dunster.*

314 *weeds*] Spens. F. Q. i. i. 29.
'An *aged man* in long black *weeds* yclad.' *Dunster.*
Compare Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie and Triumph*, ed. 1632, p. 30. 32:

'At length *an aged syre* farre off *he saw*
Come slowly footing . . . . .
Thus on they wandred, but those holy *weeds*
A monstrous serpent, and no man did cover.'

In Bale's *Christ's Temptation*, 1538, Satan joins our Saviour in the disguise of a hermit. *A. Dyce.*

He saw approach, who first with curious eye
Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake.
Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
So far from path or road of men, who pass
In troop or caravan, for single none
Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drought.
I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
Our new baptizing prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honour'd so, and call'd thee Son
Of God; I saw and heard, for we sometimes,
Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come
To town or village nigh, nighest is far, [forth
Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear,
What happens new; fame also finds us out.
To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither
Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek.
By miracle he may, reply'd the swain,
What other way I see not, for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd
More than the camel, and to drink go far,
Men to much misery and hardship born.
But if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,
So shalt thou save thy self and us relieve
With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.

320 *Perus'd*] P. L. viii. 267. 'Myself I then perus'd and Hamlet (act ii. sc. 1.), 'He falls to such *perusal* of my face.' *Dunster.*

333 *stubs*] Thyer proposes 'shrubs,' very improperly.

He ended, and the Son of God reply'd.
Think'st thou such force in bread? is it not written,
For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,
Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with Manna? in the mount
Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;
And forty days Elijah without food
Wander'd this barren waste, the same I now.
Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?
Whom thus answer'd th' arch fiend now undis-
'Tis true, I am that spirit unfortunate, [guis'd.
Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt,
Kept not my happy station, but was driv'n
With them from bliss to the bottomless deep;
Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd
By rigour unconniving, but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy
Large liberty, to round this globe of earth,
Or range in th' air, nor from the heav'n of heav'ns
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
I came among the sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him, and illustrate his high worth;
And when to all his angels he propos'd
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud,
That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies

To his destruction, as I had in charge;
For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
To be belov'd of God, I have not lost
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous; I should so have lost all sense.
What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wisdom, and behold thy godlike deeds?
Men generally think me much a foe
To all mankind: why should I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence, by them
I lost not what I lost, rather by them
I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell,
Copartner in these regions of the world,
If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by presages, and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents, and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.
Envy they say excites me thus to gain
Companions of my misery and woe.
At first it may be; but long since with woe
Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof,

385 *attent*] Fair. Q. vi. 9. 26.

'Hung still upon his melting mouth *attent*.'

and Hamlet, act i. sc. ii. 'With an *attent* ear.' *Thyer. Dunster.*

400 *Nearer*] 'Never' in Milton's ed. but the errata give 'nearer.' Several editions retain the error. *Todd.*

That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.
Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd:
This wounds me most, what can it less? that man,
Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more.
To whom our Saviour sternly thus reply'd.
Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end,
Who boast release from hell, and leave to come
Into the heav'n of heav'ns. Thou com'st indeed,
As a poor miserable captive thrall
Comes to the place where he before had sat
Among the prime in splendour, now depos'd,
Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
A spectacle of ruin or of scorn
To all the host of heav'n. The happy place
Imports to thee no happiness, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss to thee no more communicable,
So never more in hell than when in heav'n.
But thou art serviceable to heav'n's King.
Wilt thou impute t' obedience what thy fear

401 *fellowship*] See Shakespeare's Rape of Lucrece. Aldine Poets, vol. xx. p. 128.

'It easeth some, though none it ever cur'd,
To think, their dolour others have endur'd.'

411 *thrall*] See Heywood's Hierarchie, p. 564.

'The power of women to make others *thrall*.'

and H. More's Poems, p. 251.

'Yet wote I not what may these wretched *thralls* relieve.'

Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him
With all inflictions? but his patience won.
The other service was thy chosen task,
To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles
By thee are giv'n, and what confest more true
Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
But what have been thy answers? what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,
Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
And not well understood as good not known?
Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct
To fly or follow what concern'd him most,
And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
For God hath justly given the nations up
To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous. But when his purpose is
Among them to declare his providence
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him or his angels president
In ev'ry province? who, themselves disdaining
T' approach thy temples, give thee in command

[426] *won*] Verb neuter, so Spens. F. Q. i. vi. 39:
'And he the stoutest knight that ever *won*.' *Newton.*

What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say
To thy adorers; thou with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st;
Then to thy self ascrib'st the truth foretold.
But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos or elsewhere,
At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
God hath now sent his living oracle
Into the world to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of Truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, and inward oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know.
So spake our Saviour; but the subtle fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.
Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will,
But misery, hath wrested from me; where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforc'd ofttimes to part from truth;
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?
But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and must, submiss endure
Check or reproof, and glad to escape so quit.

456 *ceas'd*] Juv. Sat. vi. 554.
Delphis oracula cessant. *Dunster.*

Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to th' ear,
And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song;
What wonder then if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? most men admire
Virtue, who follow not her lore: permit me
To hear thee when I come, since no man comes,
And talk at least, though I despair to attain.
Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing, and vouchsaf'd his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspir'd; disdain not such access to me.
To whom our Saviour with unalter'd brow.
Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
I bid not or forbid: do as thou find'st
Permission from above; thou canst not more.
He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappear'd

478 *Hard*] Sil. Ital. iv. 605.

'——— *perque aspera duro*
Nititur ad laudem *virtus interrita* clivo.' *Dunster.*

487 *atheous*] Cicero, speaking of Diagoras, 'Atheos qui dictus est.' De Nat. D. i. 23. 'Atheal' is not uncommon in old English. *Dunster. Todd.*

498 *gray dissimulation*] See Ford's Broken Heart; ed. Weber, p. 304.

'Lay by thy whining gray dissimulation.'

Into thin air diffus'd: for now began
Night with her sullen wings to double-shade
The desart; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

499 *thin*] Virg. Æn. iv. 278.

'Et procul in *tenuem* ex oculis *evanuit auram*.'

Shakesp. Temp. act iv. sc. 2.

'Are melted into air, into *thin air*.' *Dunster*.

500 *Night*] Nonnus ends the xxvth book of his Dionysiaca thus,

Καὶ σκιερὴν ἐμέλαινεν ὅλην χθόνα σιγαλέη νυξ·
Λαοὶ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χαμαιστρώτων ἐπὶ λέκτρων
Ἐσπερίῃ μετὰ δόρπον ὀρειάδι κάππεσον ἐννῇ.

500 *double-shade*] Ov. Met. xi. 548.

'Duplicataque noctis imago est.' *Dunster*.

501 *fowls*] Beaumont's Psyche, c. xiii. st. 355, ed. 1648.

'Each gentle fair-condition'd bird and beast
Hied them unto their nests and dens • • • •
Only some ominous ravens, and screech owles prest
With beasts of prey and night, thro' the black air.'

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

MEANWHILE the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expressly call'd
Jesus, Messiah, Son of God declar'd,
And on that high authority had believ'd,
And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd, I mean
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
With others though in holy writ not nam'd,
Now missing him their joy so lately found,
So lately found, and so abruptly gone,
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
And, as the days increas'd, increas'd their doubt:
Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
And for a time caught up to GOD, as once
Moses was in the Mount, and missing long;
And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels
Rode up to heav'n, yet once again to come.
Therefore as those young prophets then with care

[6] *mean*] See this expression in Harington's Ariosto, xxxi. 46. 'I *mean* Renaldo's House of Montalbane,' and st. 55. 'I *mean* the cruel Pagan Rodomont.' *Newton.*

[13] *shown*] Virg. Æn. vi. 870.

'Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.'

Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these
Nigh to Bethabara; in Jericho
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,
Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.
Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,
Where winds with reeds and osiers whisp'ring play,
Plain fishermen, no greater men them call,
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.
Alas, from what high hope to what relapse
Unlook'd for are we fall'n! our eyes beheld
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth:
Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand,
The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd:
Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
Into perplexity and new amaze:

[20] *broad*] 'Broad' is not opposed to *long*, but means 'large;' in this sense it is often used by the old English poets, and thus their modern imitator, 'He knew her of *broad lands* the heir.' Marmion, c. ii. st. xxvii. The lake of Genezaret is eighteen miles long, and only five broad.

[25] *Jordan*] Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie and Triumph*, ed. 1632, p. 49:

'Or whistling reeds, that rutty Jordan laves.' *A. Dyce.*

[27] *no greater*] Spenser in the beginning of Sheph. Cal.

'A shepherd's boy, *no better do him call.*' *Newton.*

[30] *what*] So first edition, in most others, that.' *Newton.*

For whither is he gone, what accident
Hath wrapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
Behold the kings of the earth how they oppress
Thy chosen, to what highth their power unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast
All fear of thee. Arise and vindicate
Thy glory, free thy people from their yoke.
But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him,
By his great prophet, pointed at and shown
In public, and with him we have convers'd;
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his providence; he will not fail,
Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall,
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence;
Soon we shall see our hope, our joy return.
Thus they out of their plaints new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought:
But to his mother Mary, when she saw
Others return'd from baptism, not her Son,
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.

O what avails me now that honour high
To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,
Hail, highly favour'd, among women blest!
While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,
And fears as eminent, above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore,
In such a season born, when scarce a shed
Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
From the bleak air! a stable was our warmth,
A manger his: yet soon enforc'd to fly
Thence into Egypt, till the murd'rous king
Were dead, who sought his life, and missing fill'd
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;
From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth
Hath been our dwelling many years; his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king; but now
Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in public shown,
Son own'd from heav'n by his Father's voice;
I look'd for some great change: to honour? no,
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce. This is my favour'd lot,
My exaltation to afflictions high;
Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? some great intent

Conceals him. When twelve years he scarce had
I lost him, but so found, as well I saw [seen,
He could not lose himself; but went about
His father's business. What he meant I mus'd,
Since understand. Much more his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
My heart hath been a store-house long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.
Thus Mary pond'ring oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
Sole but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended, and at once
All his great work to come before him set;
How to begin, how to accomplish best
His end of being on earth, and mission high:
For Satan, with sly preface to return,
Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
Up to the middle region of thick air,
Where all his potentates in council sat;
There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
Solicitous and blank he thus began.
Princes, heav'n's ancient sons, ethereal thrones,
Demonian spirits now from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd

111 *descended*] Pers. Sat. iv. 23.
'Ut nemo *in sese* tentat *descendere*.' *Newton.*

Pow'rs of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,
So may we hold our place, and these mild seats
Without new trouble; such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens, than our expulsion down to hell;
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequence was impower'd,
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find
Far other labour to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam first of men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
However to this man inferior far,
If he be man by mother's side at least,
With more than human gifts from heav'n adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.
Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion oversure
Of like succeeding here: I summon all
Rather to be in readiness, with hand
Or counsel to assist, lest I, who erst
Thought none my equal, now be overmatch'd.
So spake the old Serpent doubting, and from all
With clamour was assur'd their utmost aid

125 *mild seats*] Mild yoke. Sonnet xix. Mild heaven. Sonnet xxi. '*Mite* et cognatum est homini deus.' Sil. Ital. iv. 795.

131 *tasted him*] Psalm xxxiv. 8.
'Oh *taste* and see how gracious the Lord is.'

At his command; when from amidst them rose
Belial, the dissolutest spirit that fell,
The sensualest, and after Asmodai
The fleshliest Incubus, and thus advis'd.
Set women in his eye, and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found;
Many are in each region passing fair
As the noon sky; more like to goddesses
Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,
Skill'd to retire, and in retiring draw
Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve,
Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
At will the manliest, resolutest breast,
As the magnetic hardest iron draws.

156 *more like*] Hesiod Op. et Di. 62.
ἀθανάταις δὲ θεαῖς εἰς ὦπα ἐΐσκειν
Παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον.

162 *tangled*] Miltoni Eleg. i. 60.
'Aurea quæ *fallax retia tendit amor*.'
and P. L. xi. 585. *Dunster.*

166 *credulous*] Hor. Od. iv. i. 30.
'Spes animi *credula* mutui.' *Newton.*

168 *magnetic*] Mids. N. Dream, act ii. sc. 2.
'You *draw* me, you hard-hearted *adamant*,
But yet you draw not *iron*.' *Todd.*

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow to the gods of his wives.
To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thy self; because of old
Thou thy self doat'dst on woman-kind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,
False titled sons of god, roaming the earth,
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
In wood or grove by mossy fountain side,
In valley or green meadow, to way-lay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more
Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,
Satyr, or fawn, or sylvan? but these haunts
Delight not all; among the sons of men,
How many have with a smile made small account
Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
All her assaults, on worthier things intent?

184 *mossy*] Virg. Ecl. vii. 45. 'Muscosi fontes.'
Dunster.

Remember that Pellean conqueror,
A youth, how all the beauties of the east
He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd;
How he surnam'd of Africa dismiss'd
In his prime youth the fair Iberian maid.
For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full
Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
Higher design than to enjoy his state;
Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:
But he whom we attempt is wiser far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things; what woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire? or should she confident,
As sitting queen ador'd on beauty's throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour, as the zone of Venus once
Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell;
How would one look from his majestick brow,
Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,

196 *Pellean*] Henry More's Poems, p. 251.

'Where's Nimrod now, and dreadful Hannibal?
Where's that ambitious pert *Pellean lad*?'

204 *bait*] Spens. F. Q. v. viii. 1.

'Beauty's lovely bait.' *Dunster.*

216 *majestick brow*] Milton's Prose Works (of Reformation) by Symmons, vol. i. p. 54. 'And buy and sell the awful, and majestick wrinkles of her brow.'

Discount'nance her despis'd, and put to rout
All her array; her female pride deject,
Or turn to reverent awe? for beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive. Cease to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat and shrink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden slighting quite abash'd:
Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy, with such as have more show
Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise;
Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wreck'd;
Or that which only seems to satisfy
Lawful desires of nature, not beyond;
And now I know he hungers where no food
Is to be found, in the wide wilderness:
The rest commit to me, I shall let pass
No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.
He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclaim:
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of spirits, likess to himself in guile,
To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons each to know his part;
Then to the desert takes with these his flight;
Where still from shade to shade the Son of God

228 *oftest*] Milton's own edition, 'oftest,' the others 'often.' *Newton.*

232 *wide*] In most editions falsely printed 'wild.' *Newton.*

After forty days fasting had remain'd,
Now hung'ring first, and to himself thus said.
Where will this end? four times ten days I've pass'd
Wand'ring this woody maze, and human food
Nor tasted, nor had appetite: that fast
To virtue I impute not, or count part
Of what I suffer here. If nature need not,
Or God support nature without repast
Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
But now I feel I hunger, which declares
Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
Can satisfy that need some other way,
Though hunger still remain: so it remain
Without this body's wasting, I content me,
And from the sting of famine fear no harm,
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hung'ring more to do my father's will.
It was the hour of night, when thus the Son
Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
Under the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet:
Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,

262 *hospitable*] Hor. Od. ii. 3. 9.

'Umbram *hospitalem* consociare amant
Ramis.'

and Virg. Georg. iv. 24. *Dunster.*

And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought:
He saw the prophet also how he fled
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper: then how, awak'd,
He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,
And by the angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose,
The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days;
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.
Thus wore out night, and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high tow'ring to descry
The morn's approach, and greet her with his song.
As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream,
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.
Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,

267 *horny*] Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 36.
'Aves excelsæ, cruribus rigidis, *corneo* proceroque *rostro*.'
Dunster.

287 *cottage*] Ap. Rhod. iv. 1247.
———— *οὐδέ τιν' ἀρδμὸν*
Οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε καταυγάσσαντο βοτῆρα
Αὐλιον, εὐκήλῳ δὲ κατείχετο πάντα γαλήνῃ.

With chaunt of tuneful birds resounding loud;
Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
That open'd in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,
And to a superstitious eye the haunt
Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs; he view'd it round,
When suddenly a man before him stood,
Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,
As one in city, or court, or palace bred,
And with fair speech these words to him address'd.
With granted leave officious I return,
But much more wonder that the Son of God
In this wild solitude so long should bide
Of all things destitute, and well I know,
Not without hunger. Others of some note,
As story tells, have trod this wilderness;
The fugitive bond-woman with her son
Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief
By a providing angel; all the race
Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God
Rain'd from heav'n manna; and that prophet bold
Native of Thebez wand'ring here was fed

[296] *haunt*] Lucret. iv. 584.

"Hæc loca capripedes Satyros, Nymphasque tenere
Finitumei fingunt"——— *Dunster.*

[309] *here*] In Milton's own edition, it is 'found *he* relief,' perhaps an unnoticed error of the press. *Todd.*

Twice by a voice inviting him to eat.
Of thee these forty days none hath regard,
Forty and more deserted here indeed [hence?
To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou
They all had need, I, as thou seest, have none.
How hast thou hunger then? Satan replied.
Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus. Why should that
Cause thy refusal? said the subtle fiend.
Hast thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, nor to stay till bid,
But tender all their power? nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first
To idols, those young Daniel could refuse;
Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who
Would scruple that, with want opprest? behold
Nature asham'd, or, better to express, [vey'd
Troubled that thou should'st hunger, hath pur-
From all the elements her choicest store
To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord
With honour, only deign to sit and eat.
He spake no dream, for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld
In ample space under the broadest shade

326 *nor*] So in Milton's own edition; in most others, '*not*

334 *elements*] Juv. Sat. xi. 14.

'Interea gustus *elementa per omnia* quærunt.' *Dunster.*

A table richly spread, in regal mode,
With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort
And savour, beasts of chase, or fowl of game,
In pastry-built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
Gris-amber steam'd; all fish from sea or shore,
Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin,
And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.
Alas how simple, to these cates compar'd,
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!
And at a stately side-board by the wine
That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood

340 *A table*] 'Then dreamt he saw a *table richly spread*.' Whiting's Albino and Bellama, p. 105, (1637.)

340 *in regal mode*] 'Regales Epulæ.' Apulei Metam. Lib. v. p. 143. ed. Delph.

341 *dishes pil'd*] Milton's Prose Works, vol. iv. p. 312, (a brief History of Moscovia) 'Then followed a number more of strange, and *rare dishes piled*, boiled, roast, and baked, &c.

344 *Gris-amber*] Osborne's Memoirs of James I. vol. ii. p. 157, 'a whole pye, reckoned to my lord at ten pounds, being composed of *amber-grece*, magisterial of pearl, musk.'

345 *Freshet*] Brown B. Past. b. ii. s. 3. (1616.)

'Now love the *freshet*, and then love the sea.' *Todd.*

347 *Lucrine*] Hor. Epod. ii. 49.

'Non me *Lucrina* juverint conchylia,'

and Sat. ii. iv. 32. *Dunster.*

349 *diverted*] In the latter sense, 'turn aside,' so Drayton's Owle, 1604.

'Holla! thou wandering infant of my braine,
Whither thus flingst thou; yet *divert* thy strayne;
Return we back.' *Todd.*

Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more
Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood
Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd
Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since
Of fairy damsels met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore,
And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings or charming pipes, and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fann'd
From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.
Such was the splendour, and the tempter now
His invitation earnestly renew'd.

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure;
Their taste no knowledge works at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their lord:
What doubt'st thou Son of God? sit down and eat.

353 *Ganymed*] 'A train of sleek, smooth, beauteous youths appear'd,
The Ganymedes and Hylasses.'
Mountford's Henry II. act iv. sc. 1.

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied.
Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?
And who withholds my pow'r that right to use?
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,
And call swift flights of angels ministrant,
Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend;
Why should'st thou then obtrude this diligence,
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?
Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.
To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent.
That I have also power to give thou seest.
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd,
And rather opportunely in this place
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why should'st thou not accept it? but I see
What I can do or offer is suspect;

385 *flights*] Hamlet, act v. sc. 6.
'And *flights of angels* sing thee to thy rest.'
Newton

389 *ministrant*] Cic. Tusc. Disp. 1. c. 26. 'Non ambrosia Deos, aut nectare, aut juventute *pocula ministrante*;' and Ov. Met. x. 100. *Dunster.*

391 *no gifts*] Sophocl. Ajax. 675,
Ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κ' οὐκ ὀνήσιμα. *Newton.*

Of these things others quickly will dispose,
Whose pains have earn'd the far-fet spoil. With that
Both table and provision vanish'd quite
With sound of Harpies' wings and talons heard;
Only the importune tempter still remain'd,
And with these words his temptation pursu'd.
  By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd;
Thy temperance invincible besides,
For no allurement yields to appetite,
And all thy heart is set on high designs,
High actions; but wherewith to be achieved?
Great acts require great means of enterprise;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thy self
Bred up in poverty and straits at home,
Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit:
Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority deriv'st?
What followers, what retinue can'st thou gain?
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,
Longer than thou can'st feed them on thy cost?
Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms.
What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,

401 *far-fet*] 'fet' 'far-fetched,' used by Chaucer, Spenser, &c. see Newton's note.

403 *Harpies*] 'Hark! how the Harpies' wings resound.' Al. Ross Mel Heliconium, p. 64.

404 *importune*] Spenser, F. Q. i. xii. 16.
'And often blame the too *importune* fate.' *Newton.*

Thy throne, but gold that got him puissant friends?
Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me;
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.
To whom thus Jesus patiently reply'd.
Yet wealth without these three is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
Witness those ancient empires of the earth,
In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd.
But men endu'd with these have oft attain'd
In lowest poverty to highest deeds;
Gideon and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,
Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat
So many ages, and shall yet regain
That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
Among the heathen, for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial, canst thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?
For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn
Riches though offer'd from the hands of kings.
And what in me seems wanting, but that I
May also in this poverty as soon
Accomplish what they did, perhaps, and more?
Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare, more apt
To slacken virtue, and abate her edge,

Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.
What, if with like aversion I reject
Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
Which ev'ry wise and virtuous man attains:
And who attains not ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or head-strong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him which he serves.
But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which to a gen'rous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.
Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous than to assume.
Riches are needless then, both for themselves,
And for thy reason why they should be sought,
To gain a sceptre, oftest better miss'd.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

So spake the Son of God, and Satan stood
A while as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,
With soothing words renew'd, him thus accosts.
I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.
Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old
Infallible: or wert thou sought to deeds
That might require th' array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such, that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
In battel, though against thy few in arms.
These god-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,

Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness? wherefore deprive
All earth her wonder at thy acts, thy self
The fame and glory, glory the reward
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits, most temper'd pure
Ætherial, who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
And dignities and powers, all but the highest?
Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the son
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd
With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
Inglorious: but thou yet art not too late.
To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.
Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
For empire's sake, nor empire to affect

[27] *erected*] So P. L. i. 679; 'erected spirits' is a classical phrase; 'magno animo et *erecto*.' Cic. p. Rege Deiot. 13. *Dunster.*

[34] *dispose*] So Shakesp. King John, act i sc. 3.
'Needs must you lay your heart at his *dispose*.'
Dunster.

For glory's sake by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise, if always praise unmixt?
And what the people but a herd confus'd,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol [praise?
Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the
They praise and they admire they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other:
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
To live upon their tongues and be their talk,
Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise.
His lot who dares be singularly good.
Th' intelligent among them and the wise
Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.
This is true glory and renown, when God,
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through heaven
To all his angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises. Thus he did to Job,
When, to extend his fame thro' heav'n and earth,
As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
He ask'd thee, Hast thou seen my servant Job?
Famous he was in heav'n, on earth less known;
Where glory is false glory, attributed
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
They err who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to overrun

[56] *disprais'd*] Tickell and Fenton corruptly read 'despised,' after Tonson's editions of 1707, 1711: the genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edition, 1747.

Large countries, and in field great battels win,
Great cities by assault: what do these worthies,
But rob, and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy,
Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,
Worshipp'd with temple, priest, and sacrifice;
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;
Till conqueror death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attain'd
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance. I mention still
Him whom thy wrongs with saintly patience borne
Made famous in a land and times obscure;
Who names not now with honour patient Job?
Poor Socrates, who next more memorable?
By what he taught and suffer'd for so doing,
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now

86 *Rolling*] G. Withers' Speculum, 1660, p. 69.
'They might in *brutish lusts* at pleasure *roll*.'
Dunster has marked the conformity with expressions of Cicero, 'in omni dedecore *volutatus* es,' &c.

Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.
Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught suffer'd; if young African for fame
His wasted country freed from Punic rage,
The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek,
Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his
Who sent me, and thereby witness whence I am.
To whom the tempter murmuring thus replied.
Think not so slight of glory, therein least
Resembling thy great Father: he seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; nor content in heav'n
By all his angels glorify'd, requires
Glory from men, from all men good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption;
Above all sacrifice or hallow'd gift
Glory he requires, and glory he receives
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew, or Greek,
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd:
From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts.
To whom our Saviour fervently replied.
And reason, since his word all things produc'd,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth his goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest, recompense

From them who could return him nothing else,
And not returning that would likeliest render
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
Hard recompense, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence.
But why should man seek glory, who of his own
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?
Who for so many benefits receiv'd
Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,
And so of all true good himself despoil'd,
Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs:
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himself to glory will advance.
So spake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin, for he himself
Insatiable of glory had lost all;
Yet of another plea bethought him soon.
Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem,
Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd

[130] *that*] Tickell and Fenton follow the corrupt reading of Tonson's edd. 1707, 1711, '*what*.' The genuine reading restored in ed. 1747.

[151] *the*] All the editions but the first read '*their*.' Tonson's ed. 1747 restored the genuine reading: the correctness of this edition of Tonson makes it very valuable.

To sit upon thy father David's throne,
By mother's side thy father; though thy right
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Easily from possession won with arms.
Judæa now and all the promis'd land,
Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,
Obeys Tiberius; nor is always rul'd
With temperate sway: oft have they violated
The temple, oft the law with foul affronts,
Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus: and think'st thou to regain
Thy right by sitting still or thus retiring?
So did not Maccabeus: he indeed
Retir'd unto the desert, but with arms;
And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,
That by strong hand his family obtain'd,
Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurp'd,
With Modin and her suburbs once content.
If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
And duty; zeal and duty are not slow;
But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.
They themselves rather are occasion best,
Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free
Thy country from her heathen servitude;
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign;

171 *move*] 'Let move thee zeal;' a bolder Latinism than is quite consonant with English poetry. See also P. L. ii. 443, 'what *remains him* less;' and ix. 41. *Dunster.*

The happier reign the sooner it begins;
Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?
To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.
All things are best fulfill'd in their due time,
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said:
If of my reign prophetic writ hath told
That it shall never end, so when begin
The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
What, if he hath decreed that I shall first
Be try'd in humble state and things adverse,
By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
What I can suffer, how obey? who best
Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first
Well hath obey'd; just trial, ere I merit
My exaltation without change or end.
But what concerns it thee when I begin
My everlasting kingdom? why art thou
Solicitous? what moves thy inquisition?
Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
And my promotion will be thy destruction?
To whom the tempter, inly rack'd, replied.
Let that come when it comes; all hope is lost
Of my reception into grace: what worse?
For where no hope is left, is left no fear:

[89] *adverse*] S. Ital. iv. 605,
'Explorant adversa viros.' *Dunster.*

If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments me than the feeling can
I would be at the worst, worst is my port,
My harbour, and my ultimate repose;
The end I would attain, my final good.
My error was my error, and my crime
My crime; whatever for itself condemn'd,
And will alike be punish'd, whether thou
Reign or reign not; though to that gentle brow
Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aspect and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil state,
Would stand between me and thy father's ire,
Whose ire I dread more than the fire of hell,
A shelter, and a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
If I then to the worst that can be haste,
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,
Happiest both to thyself and all the world,
That thou who worthiest art should'st be their king?
Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detain'd
Of the enterprize so hazardous and high:
No wonder, for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in man be found,
Or human nature can receive, consider,
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jerusalem, few days [serve?
Short sojourn; and what thence couldst thou ob-
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,

Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,
Best school of best experience, quickest insight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.
The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever
Timorous and loth, with novice modesty,
As he who seeking asses found a kingdom,
Irresolute, unhardy, unadvent'rous:
But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes
The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and state,
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts
And regal mysteries, that thou may'st know
How best their opposition to withstand.
With that, such power was given him then, he took
The Son of God up to a mountain high.
It was a mountain at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain outstretch'd in circuit wide
Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd,
Th' one winding, th' other straight, and left between
Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,
Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea:
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;
With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills;
Huge cities and high tower'd, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs, and so large

[238] *insight*] Milton's own edition, and all the earlier editions, except Tonson's 1747, read '*in sight*.'

The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.
To this high mountain top the tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and, o'er hill and dale,
Forest, and field, and flood, temples, and towers,
Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st
Assyria and her empire's ancient bounds,
Araxes, and the Caspian lake, thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
And inaccessible the Arabian drought:
Here Nineveh, of length within her wall
Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns;
There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David's house
Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,
Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis
His city there thou seest, and Bactra there;
Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,
And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,

[261] *fountainless and dry*] 'Desarts desolate, and dry.' Drayton's Moses, lib. ii. p. 1603, ed. 8vo.

[268] *Choaspes*] See Plin. N. Hist. lib. xxiv. c. cii. vol. iv.

The drink of none but kings; of later fame
Built by Emathian, or by Parthian hands,
The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye thou may'st behold.
All these the Parthian, now some ages past,
By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire, under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
And just in time thou com'st to have a view
Of his great power; for now the Parthian king
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste; see, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage

p. 362. ed. Brot. and lib. xxxi. c. xxi. 3. vol. v. p. 299, 'Parthorum reges ex Choaspe, et Eulæo tantum bibunt.'

'It is a fact worthy of remark, that at this moment, while all the inhabitants of Kermanshah drink of the stream of Aub Dedoong, and of the spring called Aubi-i-Hassan-Khan, the *king's son alone* has the water for himself and his harem brought from the stream of the Kara Soo (the Choaspes). We drank of it ourselves as we passed, and from its superiority to all the waters of which we had tasted since leaving the banks of the Tigris, the draught was delicious enough to be sweet even to the palsied taste of royalty itself.' Buckingham's Trav. in Assyria, &c. p. 119. On the delicious water of the Nile, see Forbes's Oriental Mem. ii. p. 72; and on that of the Ganges, 139. The Mogul Emperors travelled with it: Akber never drank any other, and called it the 'Water of Life.'

They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,
Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit;
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel:
See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and
wings.
He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless
The city gates outpour'd, light armed troops
In coats of mail and military pride;
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
Prancing their riders bore, the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound;
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,
And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs

306 *flight*] Lucan. Phars. i. 229,

'Missa Parthi post terga sagitta.' *Dunster.*

309 *wedges and half-moons*] Virgil mentions the 'wedge; Æn. xii. 457. 'densi *cuneis* se quisque coactis agglomerant:' and Stat. Theb. v. 145, the half-moon; '*lunatumque* putes agmen descendere.' *Dunster.*

310 *numbers numberless*] For this expression (which was very common in old English Poets anterior to Milton) See Peele's Works, by Dyce, sec. ed. 1829, vol. i. p. 227.

'A *number numberless*, appointed well
For tournament.'

and Heywood's Troy, p. 203.

311 *gates*] Virg. Æn. xii. 121,

'——— plenis
Agmina se fundunt *portis*.' *Dunster.*

314 *Prancing*] Compare the description in Heliodori Æthiop. lib. iii. p. 175. ed. Mitscherlich.

Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales,
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.
He saw them in their forms of battel rang'd,
How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face
Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight;
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
Chariots or elephants endors'd with towers
Of archers, nor of labouring pioneers
A multitude with spades and axes arm'd
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or, where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
Mules after these, camels, and dromedaries,
And waggons fraught with utensils of war.

324 *arrowy*] Æn. xii. 284.

'Tempestas telorum, ac ferreus ingruit *imber*.' *Dunster*.

326 *brown*] Euripidis Phæn. 296.

καταχάλχον ἀπὰν
Πέδιον ἀστράπτει. *Dunster*.

329 *endors'd*] B. Jonson's Epig. to W. Earl of Newcastle:

'Nay, so your seat his beauties did *endorse*,
As I began to wish myself a horse.' *Dunster*.

334 *yoke*] Æschyli Persæ, 71

Ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλῶν αυχενί πόντου. *Thyer*.

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,
The city of Gallaphrone, from thence to win
The fairest of her sex Angelica
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and so numerous was their chivalry;
At sight whereof the fiend yet more presum'd,
And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou may'st know I seek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way secure
On no slight grounds thy safety, hear and mark
To what end I have brought thee hither and shown
All this fair sight; thy kingdom, though foretold
By prophet or by angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still
In all things, and all men, supposes means,
Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
But say thou wert possess'd of David's throne
By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or Jew; how could'st thou hope
Long to enjoy it quiet and secure,
Between two such enclosing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? therefore one of these

337 *Such*] Lucan. Phars. iii. 288.

'coiere nec unquam
Tam variæ cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi
Ora.' *Dunster.*

Thou must make sure thy own, the Parthian first
By my advice, as nearer, and of late
Found able by invasion to annoy
Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus, and old Hyrcanus bound,
Maugre the Roman. It shall be my task
To render thee the Parthian at dispose;
Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league.
By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly reinstall thee
In David's royal seat, his true successor,
Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd;
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,
Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear.
To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.
Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,
And fragile arms, much instrument of war
Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear

388 *instrument*] 'Totius belli *instrumento* et apparatu.' Cic. Acad. ii. 1. *Dunster.*

Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battels, and leagues,
Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.
Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else
Will unpredict and fail me of the throne.
My time, I told thee, and that time for thee
Were better farthest off, is not yet come;
When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome
Luggage of war there shown me, argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes
I must deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway
To just extent over all Israel's sons.
But whence to thee this zeal, where was it then
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride
Of numb'ring Israel, which cost the lives
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
By three days' pestilence? such was thy zeal
To Israel then, the same that now to me.
As for those captive tribes, themselves were they
Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next, and Ashtaroth,
And all th' idolatries of heathen round,
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;
Nor in the land of their captivity,

Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
The God of their forefathers; but so died
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain,
And God with idols in their worship join'd.
Should I of these the liberty regard,
Who freed as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would follow; and to their gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan? no, let them serve
Their enemies, who serve idols with God.
Yet he at length, time to himself best known,
Rememb'ring Abraham, by some wondrous call
May bring them back repentant and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
While to their native land with joy they haste,
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the promis'd land their fathers pass'd;
To his due time and providence I leave them.

So spake Israel's true king, and to the fiend
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it when with truth falsehood contends.

[428] *freed*] The obscurity of this passage has been remarked; and conjectures and alterations proposed by the critics. I should prefer to read 'unto' for 'as to,' which is the slightest deviation from the established text; and which seems to me to remove all the difficulty; but Mr. Dunster's note should be consulted.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

Perplex'd and troubled at his bad success
The tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric
That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve,
So little here, nay lost: but Eve was Eve,
This far his over-match, who, self-deceiv'd
And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd
The strength he was to cope with, or his own:
But as a man, who had been matchless held
In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,
To salve his credit, and for very spite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more;
Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,
About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,
Vain batt'ry, and in froth or bubbles end;
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,

And his vain importunity pursues.
He brought our Saviour to the western side
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,
Wash'd by the southern sea, and on the north
To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills, [men
That screen'd the fruits of the earth and seats of
From cold Septentrion blasts, thence in the midst
Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate
On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd,
Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens, and groves presented to his eyes,
Above the highth of mountains interpos'd:
By what strange parallax or optick skill
Of vision, multiply'd through air, or glass
Of telescope, were curious to enquire:
And now the tempter thus his silence broke.

The city which thou seest no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth

31 *septentrion*] See Drayton's Polyolbion, Song 10, p. 844, ed. 8vo.

'From the septentrion cold.'

35 *seven*] Virg. Georg. ii. 535.

'*Septemque* una sibi muro circumdedit *arces*.' *Newton*.

45 *queen*] Rutilii Itin. i. 47.

'Exaudi, *regina* tui pulcherrima mundi.' *Dunster*.

In the Ode to Rome, falsely attributed to Erinna, that city is termed '*δαΐφρων ανασσα*.' ver. 2. *A. Dyce*.

So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
Of nations; there the capitol thou see'st
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable, and there mount Palatine,
Th' imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure, skill of noblest architects,
With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires.
Many a fair edifice besides, more like
Houses of gods, so well I have dispos'd
My aery microscope, thou mayst behold
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,
Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers
In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.
Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or ent'ring in,
Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state;
Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;
Or embassies from regions far remote
In various habits on the Appian road,
Or on th' Emilian, some from farthest south,
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe, Nilotic isle, and more to west,

56 *gods*] Some editions read incorrectly 'God.'

66 *turms*] Virg. Æn. v. 560.
'Equitum turmæ.' *Newton.*

71 *Nilotic*] Martial Ep. vi. 80.
'Nilotica tellus.' *Dunster.*

The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea;
From the Asian kings and Parthian, among these,
From India and the golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd:
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west,
Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians north
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.
All nations now to Rome obedience pay,
To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain
In ample territory, wealth and power,
Civility of manners, arts, and arms,
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
Before the Parthian; these two thrones except,
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd.
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
This emperor hath no son, and now is old,
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
To Capreæ, an island small but strong
On the Campanian shore, with purpose there
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,
Committing to a wicked favourite
All public cares, and yet of him suspicious,
Hated of all and hating: with what ease,
Indu'd with regal virtues as thou art,

Black-moor] Hor. Od. ii. vi. 3.

——— 'Ubi *Maura* semper
Æstuat *unda*.' *Dunster*.

Appearing and beginning noble deeds,
Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,
Now made a stye, and, in his place ascending,
A victor people free from servile yoke?
And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
Aim therefore at no less than all the world,
Aim at the highest, without the highest attain'd
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophesy'd what will.
To whom the Son of God unmov'd replied.
Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell
Their sumptuous gluttonies and gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantick stone,

115 *citron tables or Atlantick stone*] Citron wood grew on Mount Atlas, and was held by the Romans as valuable as gold. Martial Ep. xiv. 89. 'Accipe felices *Atlantica* munera, sylvas.' Atlantick *stone*, the Commentators say, was never heard of; nor can they explain the meaning of the expression: had the mantle therefore of Bentley descended on me, I should read

'———— and gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantic, stor'd.'

I can find no account of Atlantic marble in the learned work of Cariophylus de Ant. Marmoribus.—Since writing the above, I believe that I have detected the true meaning of *Atlantic stone*, which has escaped the Commentators. Pliny mentions that the woods of *Atlas* were eagerly searched by the Romans for citron wood, and ivory. Hist. Nat. lib. v.

For I have also heard, perhaps have read,
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
Crystal and myrrhine cups emboss'd with gems
And studs of pearl, to me should'st tell who thirst
And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
From nations far and nigh. What honour that,
But tedious waste of time to sit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,
Outlandish flatteries? then proceed'st to talk
Of the emperor, how easily subdu'd,
How gloriously; I shall, thou say'st, expel
A brutish monster: what if I withal
Expel a devil who first made him such?

c. i. 1. vol. i. p. 366, ed. Brot. 'quàm luxuriæ, cujus efficacissima vis sentitur atque maxima, cùm *ebori citroque* silvæ exquirantur.' Diod. Siculus joins them, lib. v. c. xlvi. vol. iii. p. 355, ed. Bip. '*τά δε θυρώματα τοῦ ναοῦ θαυμαστὰς ἔχει τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ἔτι δὲ θύους δεδημιουργημένας*'; so the author of the Apocalypse, xvii. 12. *πᾶν ζύλον θυΐνον, καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐλεφάντινον*; Suidas and Pausanias also mention them together. We may, therefore, consider 'Atlantick stone' to be a learned and poetical way for naming the 'Ebor Atlanticum;' and Pliny also says, that the forests in Mauritania were filled with *elephants*, lib. v. c. i. 1. vol. i. p. 364, the same forests which afforded the *citron wood*. Should 'stone' be still thought a singular expression for ivory, it may be observed, that 'fossil ivory' might have been sought for; and that Pliny, lib. xxxvi. c. xxix. 18, vol. vi. p. 230, mentions a *mineral ivory*, which he calls a *stone*.

[119] *myrrhine*] Plinii N. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. xlvi. vol. vi. p. 172. 'Quoniam eò pervenit luxuria, ut etiam fictilia pluris constent quam *murrhina*.'

Let his tormenter conscience find him out;
For him I was not sent, nor yet to free
That people victor once, now vile and base,
Deservedly made vassal, who, once just,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
But govern ill the nations under yoke,
Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
But lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
Of triumph, that insulting vanity;
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd,
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.
What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These thus degenerate, by themselves enslav'd,
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?
Know therefore, when my season comes to sit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash
All monarchies besides throughout the world,
And of my kingdom there shall be no end.
Means there shall be to this, but what the means,
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the tempter impudent replied.

I see all offers made by me how slight
Thou valu'st, because offer'd, and reject'st;

141 *Luxurious*] Manilius, iv. 10.
'*Luxuriamque lucris* emimus, *luxuque rapinas*.'
Dunster.

Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than still to contradict.
On the other side know also thou, that I
On what I offer set as high esteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for nought;
All these which in a moment thou behold'st,
The kingdoms of the world to thee I give;
For, giv'n to me, I give to whom I please,
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else,
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me as thy superior lord,
Easily done, and hold them all of me:
For what can less so great a gift deserve?
Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.
I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less,
Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition;
But I endure the time, till which expir'd,
Thou hast permission on me. It is written
The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;
And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee accurst, now more accurst
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,
And more blasphemous? which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were giv'n,
Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd,
Other donation none thou canst produce:

157 *the difficult*] Jortin and Sympson would read '*thee* difficult.'

If giv'n, by whom but by the King of kings,
God over all Supreme? if given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the giver now
Repaid? but gratitude in thee is lost
Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
As offer them to me the Son of God,
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
That evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.
To whom the fiend with fear abash'd replied.
Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
Though sons of God both angels are and men,
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
What both from men and angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth
Nations besides from all the quarter'd winds,
God of this world invok'd and world beneath;
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me so fatal, me it most concerns.
The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
Rather more honour left and more esteem;
Me naught advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.
And thou thy self seem'st otherwise inclin'd
Than to a worldly crown, addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute,
As by that early action may be judg'd,

When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the temple, there wast found
Amongst the gravest rabbies disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,
Teaching not taught; the childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day. Be famous then
By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend:
All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law,
The Pentateuch, or what the prophets wrote;
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by nature's light;
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st;
Without their learning how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them? how refute
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?
Error by his own arms is best evinc'd.
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by south-west, behold
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil,

217 *wast found*] In Milton's own edition and others, it was printed 'was.' Tickell made the emendation 'wast,' and Fenton adopted it.

239 *pure*] 'Athenis tenue cœlum.' Cic de fato. v. Pricæum ad Apulium, p. 76.

> In stately cities, and in fruitful soil,
> In temperate breathing of the milder heaven.
>
> *Gorboduc*, act ii. sc. 1.

Athens the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits,
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades;
See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attick bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There flow'ry hill Hymettus with the sound
Of bees industrious murmur oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls
His whispering stream; within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages; his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:
There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand, and various-measur'd verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,

[240] *eye*] Phil. Jud. Opera, ed. Mangey, ii. p. 467. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμω κόρη, ἢ ἐν ψυχῇ λογισμος, τοῦτ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀθήναι. *Todd.*

[247] *flow'ry*] Val. Flacc. v. 344. 'Florea juga Hymetti.' and Ov. Met. vii. 701. Sil. Ital. ii. 217. *Newton. Dunster.*

[257] *charms*] Hor. Od. iii. xxx. 13.

'Princeps *Æolium carmen* ad Italos
Deduxisse modos'——

and Od. iv. iii. 12. *Newton.*

Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,
Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own.
Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught
In Chorus or Iambick, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd,
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life;
High actions and high passions best describing.
Thence to the famous orators repair,
Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democraty,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece,
To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne:
To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,
From heav'n descended to the low-rooft house
Of Socrates; see there his tenement,
Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issu'd forth

261 *lofty*] 'The *tragical* poet who wrote his Poesies with so *grave and lofty* a style.' Holland's Plinie, p. 607.

269 *Wielded*] Sackville's Gorboduc, act ii. sc. 1.

'Worthy to wield a large and mighty realm.'

270 *fulmin'd*] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 530, of Pericles, Ἤστράπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
Newton.

276 *Wisest of men*] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 14, vol. vi. p. 65, ed. Brot. and lib. vii. c. xxxi. 31. vol. ii. p. 124, 'Socrati cunctis ab eodem deo sapientia prælato.' 'Apud Græcos Socrates, oraculo Apollinis Pythii (sapientia) prælatus cunctis;' and Apulii Apologia, p. 425. ed. Delph. 'Vir (Socrates) omnium sapientissimus.'

Mellifluous streams that water'd all the schools
Of Academics old and new, with those
Surnam'd Peripateticks, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe;
These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight;
These rules will render thee a king complete
Within thy self, much more with empire join'd.
To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd.
Think not but that I know these things, or think
I know them not; not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought: he who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true:
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
The first and wisest of them all profess'd
To know this only, that he nothing knew;
The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits;
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;
Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
But virtue join'd with riches and long life;
In corporal pleasure he and careless ease;

277 *water'd*] Manilius, speaking of Homer, ii. 8.

——Cujusque ex ore profusos
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit.

and Ovid. Amor. iii. ix. 25. *Dunster.*

299 *pleasure he*] 'He' is here contemptuously emphatical. *Dunster.* I wonder therefore that the commentators did not

The Stoic last in philosophic pride,
By him call'd virtue; and his virtuous man,
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing,
Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
As fearing God nor man, contemning all
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,
Which when he lists he leaves, or boasts he can,
For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach and not mislead,
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,
And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none,
Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
True wisdom, finds her not, or by delusion
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,

acknowledge the emphasis of 'Him,' at ver. 583, instead of accusing Milton of grammatical inaccuracy.

> 'So *Satan* fell; and straight a fiery globe
> Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
> Who on their plumy bows received HIM soft.'

That is, 'our Saviour,' 'him' κατ' ἐξόχην.

303 *Equal*] Newton reads 'equals.'

313 *awry*] Drayton's Polyolbion, s. 1.

'But their opinions fail'd, *by error led awry*.' *Dunster.*

An empty cloud. However, many books
Wise men have said are wearisome; who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
And what he brings what need he elsewhere seek?
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
As children gath'ring pebbles on the shore.
Or if I would delight my private hours
With music or with poem, where so soon
As in our native language can I find
That solace? all our law and story strew'd
With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,
Our Hebrew songs and harps in Babylon,
That pleas'd so well our victor's ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;
Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
The vices of their deities and their own
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid
As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare

321 *books*] Butler's Rem. by Thyer, vol. ii. p. 489, 'No man is the wiser for his books until he is above them.'

344 *varnish*] Hamlet, act iii. sc. i.

'The *harlot's cheek, beautied with plast'ring art.*' *Dunster.*

With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is prais'd aright, and godlike men,
The holiest of holies, and his saints:
Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature not in all quite lost.
Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
The top of eloquence, statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government
In their majestic unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
These only with our law best form a king.

350 *Such are*] This passage is considered obscure and perplexed by the commentators. Mr. Dunster's transposition (placing verse 351 and 352 after verse 345) certainly renders it clearer; but this being unauthorized by any edition, I would read thus:

——— the rest
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs; (to all true taste excelling
Where God is prais'd aright, and god-like men,
The holiest of holies, and his saints,
Such are from God inspir'd, not sent from thee;)
Unless where moral virtue is express'd.

Thus, without any alteration, I think the passage is clear.

So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now,
Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent,
Thus to our Saviour with stern brow reply'd.
Since neither wealth, nor honour, arms, nor arts,
Kingdom, nor empire pleases thee, nor aught
By me propos'd in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What dost thou in this world? the wilderness
For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
And thither will return thee; yet remember
What I foretell thee, soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected thus
Nicely or cautiously my offer'd aid,
Which would have set thee in short time with ease
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season,
When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
Now contrary, if I read aught in heav'n,
Or heav'n write aught of fate, by what the stars,
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrows, and labours, opposition, hate,
Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence, and stripes, and lastly cruel death;
A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
Real or allegoric, I discern not,
Nor when, eternal sure, as without end,
Without beginning; for no date prefixt
Directs me in the starry rubric set.

366 *darts*] Eurip. Hecub. 603.
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲνδήνοῦς ἐτοζέυσεν μάτην. *Dunster.*

So saying he took, for still he knew his pow'r
Not yet expir'd, and to the wilderness
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As daylight sunk, and brought in low'ring night,
Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day.
Our Saviour, meek and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,
Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might shield
From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head,
But shelter'd slept in vain, for at his head
The tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturb'd his sleep: and either tropic now
'Gan thunder, and both ends of heav'n the clouds
From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with light'ning mix'd, water with fire
In ruin reconcil'd: nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad
From the four hinges of the world, and fell

411 *rift*] Virg. Æn. iii. 196,

'Involvere diem nimbi et nox humida cœlum
Abstulit; ingeminant *abruptis nubibus* ignes.' *Dunster.*

and Lucret, ii. 213—5.

414 *stony*] Lucret. vi. 194.

'*Speluncasque* velut, *saxis pendentibus* structas
Cernere; quas *ventei* quom tempestate coorta
Conplerunt,' &c. *Dunster.*

On the vext wilderness, whose tallest pines,
Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks
Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
Or torn up sheer: Ill wast thou shrouded then,
O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st
Unshaken; nor yet staid the terror there,
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round [shriek'd,
Environ'd thee; some howl'd, some yell'd, some
Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Sat'st unappall'd in calm and sinless peace.
Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair
Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray,
Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,
And grisly spectres, which the fiend had rais'd
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.
And now the sun with more effectual beams
Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet
From drooping plant or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
To gratulate the sweet return of morn:
Nor yet amidst this joy and brightest morn

423 *Environ'd*] Shakesp. Rich. III. act i. sc. v.

'——— a legion of foul fiends
Environ'd me and howled in my ears.' *Dunster.*

427 *amice*] Spens. F. Qu. i. iv. 18.

'Array'd in habit black and *amice thin*.' *Newton.*

438 *gratulate*] 'And early birds with songs congratulate.' Marino's Slaught. of the Innocents, p. 126. (Trans.)

Was absent, after all his mischief done,
The prince of darkness, glad would also seem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came,
Yet with no new device, they all were spent,
Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
Desperate of better course, to vent his rage,
And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood:
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
And in a careless mood thus to him said.
  Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
After a dismal night: I heard the rack
As earth and sky would mingle, but myself
Was distant; and these flaws, though mortals fear them
As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of heav'n,
Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
Are to the main as inconsiderable
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
To man's less universe, and soon are gone;
Yet as being ofttimes noxious where they light
On man, beast, plant, wasteful, and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill:
This tempest at this desert most was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
Did I not tell thee, if thou did'st reject
The perfect season offer'd with my aid

To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
All to the push of fate, pursue thy way
Of gaining David's throne no man knows when,
For both the when and how is no where told,
Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
For angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
The time and means; each act is rightliest done,
Not when it must, but when it may be best.
If thou observe not this, be sure to find,
What I foretold thee, many a hard assay
Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold;
Whereof this ominous night that clos'd thee round,
So many terrors, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.
So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And staid not, but in brief him answer'd thus.
Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
Those terrors, which thou speak'st of, did me none;
I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
And threat'ning nigh; what they can do as signs
Betok'ning, or ill-boding, I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I accepting
At least might seem to hold all pow'r of thee,
Ambitious spirit, and would'st be thought my God,
And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will. Desist, thou art discern'd
And toil'st in vain, nor me in vain molest.

To whom the fiend now swoll'n with rage replied.
Then hear, O Son of David, virgin-born;
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt:
Of the Messiah I had heard, foretold
By all the prophets; of thy birth at length
Announc'd by Gabriel with the first I knew,
And of the angelic song in Bethlehem field,
On thy birthnight, that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flock'd to the baptist, I among the rest,
Though not to be baptiz'd, by voice from heav'n
Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God, which bears no single sense;
The Son of God I also am, or was,
And if I was I am; relation stands;
All men are sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declared.
Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild;
Where by all best conjectures I collect
Thou art to be my fatal enemy.
Good reason then, if I beforehand seek

502 *I had heard*] All the editions read 'have heard.' 'Had' seems absolutely requisite. *Dunster.*

To understand my adversary, who,
And what he is, his wisdom, power, intent;
By parl, or composition, truce, or league,
To win him, or win from him what I can.
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation, as a rock
Of adamant, and as a centre firm,
To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
Not more; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
Have been before contemn'd, and may again:
Therefore to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from heav'n,
Another method I must now begin.

So saying he caught him up, and without wing
Of hippogrif bore through the air sublime
Over the wilderness and o'er the plain;
Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
The holy city, lifted high her towers,
And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topp'd with golden spires:
There on the highest pinnacle he set
The Son of God, and added thus in scorn.

There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill; I to thy father's house
Have brought thee, and highest plac'd, highest is
Now show thy progeny; if not to stand, [best,

548 *alabaster*] From Clemens, and P. Mela, see Heber's Life of Bishop Taylor, ii. 272. 'Of Ægyptian Thebes with its houses of *alabaster*.'

Cast thyself down; safely, if Son of God;
For it is written, He will give command
Concerning thee to his angels, in their hands
They shall uplift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.
To whom thus Jesus. Also it is written,
Tempt not the Lord thy God: he said and stood:
But Satan smitten with amazement fell.
As when earth's son Antæus, to compare
Small things with greatest, in Irassa strove
With Jove's Alcides, and oft foil'd still rose,
Receiving from his mother earth new strength,
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,
Throttled at length in th' air, expir'd and fell;
So after many a foil the tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.
And as that Theban monster that propos'd
Her riddle, and him who solv'd it not, devour'd,
That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from th' Ismenian steep;
So struck with dread and anguish fell the fiend,
And to his crew that sat consulting, brought
Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God.

563 *As when*] P. Fletcher's Purple Island, p. 163, ed. 1633.

'As when . . . . . .
If greatest things with lesse we may compare.'

A. Dyce.

So Satan fell; and straight a fiery globe
Of angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him soft
From his uneasy station, and upbore
As on a floating couch through the blithe air,
Then in a flow'ry valley set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine,
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger had impair'd
Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelic quires
Sung heav'nly anthems of his victory
Over temptation and the tempter proud.
True Image of the father, whether thron'd
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or remote from heav'n, enshrin'd

581 *globe*] G. Fletcher's Christ's Triumph, st. xiii.

——— 'out there flies
A *globe of winged angels* swift as thought.' *Todd.*

583 *him*] This inaccuracy has been remarked: and that him must refer to *Satan*; therefore I would suppose that him is used *emphatically*—so Satan *fell*; but angels received *him*, and *upbore*.

587 *spread*] G. Fletcher's Christ's Triumph, &c. st. 61.

'But to their Lord, now musing in his thought,
A heavenly volley of light angels flew,
And from his father him *a banquet brought*
Through the fine element: for well they knew
After his lenten fast *he hungry grew*;
And, *as he fed*, the *holy quires combine*
To sing a hymn of the celestial trine.' *Dunster.*

In fleshly tabernacle and human form,
Wand'ring the wilderness, whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
The Son of God, with god-like force indu'd
Against th' attempter of thy Father's throne,
And thief of paradise; him long of old
Thou didst debel, and down from heav'n cast
With all his army, now thou hast aveng'd
Supplanted Adam, and by vanquishing
Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise;
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent:
He never more henceforth will dare set foot
In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke:
For though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,
A fairer paradise is founded now
For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou
A Saviour art come down to re-install
Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
Of tempter and temptation without fear.
But thou, infernal serpent, shalt not long
Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star
Or light'ning thou shalt fall from heav'n, trod down
Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound, yet not thy last and deadliest wound,
By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in hell
No triumph. In all her gates Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt; hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God: he all unarm'd
Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice

605 *debel*] Virg. Æn. vi. 853. 'Debellare superbos.' *Newton.*

From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,
Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail Son of the most High, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work
Now enter, and begin to save mankind.

Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek
Sung victor, and from heav'nly feast refresh'd
Brought on his way with joy; he unobserv'd
Home to his mother's house private return'd.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON PARADISE LOST.

B. I. ver. 46. *With hideous ruin and combustion*] So in an Order of the two Houses, &c., in 1642, apud Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. iii. 46, ed. 1826. 'and thereby to bring the whole kingdom into utter *ruin and combustion*.' *A. Dyce.*

B. X. ver. 313. *by wondrous art*
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock] So Sannazari Epig. lib. i. 53.

De Jocundo architecto
'Jucundus geminos fecit tibi, Sequana, pontes:
Jure tuum potes hunc dicere *Pontificem*.'

END OF VOL. II.

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